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# PHILIPPINE ENGLISH LINGUISTIC AND LITERARY PERSPECTIVES

Edited by MA. LOURDES S. BAUTISTA and KINGSLEY BOLTON



Hong Kong University Press 14/F Hing Wai Centre 7 Tin Wan Praya Road Aberdeen Hong Kong

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ISBN 978-962-209-947-0

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Secure On-line Ordering http://www.hkupress.org

British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

Printed and bound by Condor Production Co. Ltd., in Hong Kong, China

In memory of Brother Andrew Gonzalez, FSC (1940–2006)

# Contents

|      | es editor's preface  | xi   |   |
|------|--|------|---|
| Ack  | nowledgements  | xiii |   |
| List | of contributors  | xv   |   |
| Ma   | o of the Philippines   | xvii |   |
| Inti | roduction  |      |   |
|      | lippine English: Linguistic and literary perspectives gsley Bolton and Ma. Lourdes S. Bautista                         | 1    |   |
| Par  | t I: The Sociolinguistic Context   | 11   |   |
| 1    | A favorable climate and soil: A transplanted language and literature  Andrew Gonzalez, FSC                             | 13   | Ø |
| 2    | English in Philippine education: Solution or problem? Allan B. I. Bernardo   | 29   | 闷 |
| 3    | English-language media in the Philippines: Description and research  Danilo T. Dayag                                   | 49   |   |
| 4    | World Englishes or worlds of English? Pitfalls of a postcolonial discourse in Philippine English T. Ruanni F. Tupas    | 67   |   |
| 5    | 'When I was a child I spake as a child': Reflecting on the limits of a nationalist language policy  D. V. S. Manarpaac | 87   |   |

#### viii Contents

| 6   | Taglish, or the phantom power of the <i>lingua franca</i> Vicente L. Rafael  | 101 |
|-----|--|-----|
| Par | t II: Linguistic Forms   | 129 |
| 7   | Linguistic diversity and English in the Philippines Curtis D. McFarland  | 131 |
| 8   | A lectal description of the phonological features of Philippine<br>English<br>Ma. Lourdes G. Tayao                                     | 157 |
| 9   | Lexicography and the description of Philippine English vocabulary  Kingsley Bolton and Susan Butler                                    | 175 |
| 10  | Investigating the grammatical features of Philippine English Ma. Lourdes S. Bautista   | 201 |
| 11  | English in Philippine call centers and BPO operations: Issues, opportunities, and research  Jane Lockwood, Gail Forey, and Helen Price | 219 |
| Pa  | rt III: Philippine English Literature  | 243 |
| 12  | Colonial education and the shaping of Philippine literature in English  Isabel Pefianco Martin   | 245 |
| 13  | Negotiating language: Postcolonialism and nationalism in Philippine literature in English  Lily Rose Tope                              | 261 |
| 14  | 'This scene so fair': Filipino English poetry, 1905–2005<br>Gémino H. Abad   | 279 |
| 15  | The Philippine short story in English: An overview<br>Cristina Pantoja Hidalgo   | 299 |
| 16  | The Filipino novel in English Caroline S. Hau  | 317 |

|     | Contents   | IX  |   |
|-----|--|-----|---|
| 17  | Filipino diasporic literature  Alfred A. Yuson   | 337 |   |
| 18  | In conversation: Cebuano writers on Philippine literature and English Simeon Dumdum, Timothy Mo, and Resil Mojares | 357 |   |
| Par | rt IV: Resources   | 369 |   |
| 19  | Bibliographical resources for researching English in the Philippines  Ma. Lourdes S. Bautista                      | 371 | 6 |
| Ind | lex  | 395 |   |



## Series editor's preface

This volume on Philippine English is an important addition to the Asian Englishes Today series, not least because the Philippines is numerically one of the most important English-using societies in Asia. At various times over recent decades, the claim has been made that the Philippines was the world's 'thirdlargest' English-using society in the world, with some sixty percent of its eightyodd million population claiming a facility in the language. Given the negotiable nature of such claims, as well as recent spread of English in such societies as India and China, such generalizations are easily challenged, but, despite this, there is little doubt that the Philippines is one of the most significant and most interesting English-using societies in Asia, a society where, for a number of decades, there has been a general awareness and recognition of a localized variety of English characterized by its own distinct lexicon, accent, and variations in grammar. The distinctiveness of Philippine English as a linguistic variety has been paralleled by the literary creativity of its novelists, short story writers, and poets, who have produced — and continue to produce — a substantial body of writing in English, aimed not only at domestic readers but also at the international audience for world literature in English.

The volume is composed of four parts. Part I deals with the sociolinguistic context with contributions from Philippine scholars drawn from such fields as anthropology, education, linguistics, and literary studies. Part II focuses on linguistic description, including not only the description of the features of Philippine English, but also the description of English in contact with indigenous Philippine languages, as well as the English in the context of international call centers based in the national capital Manila. Part III deals with the literary creativity of Philippine writers in English, with chapters on colonial education, postcolonialism and nationalism, poetry, short fiction, the novel, regional writers and diasporic Philippine literature. Here, we have been particularly fortunate in attracting a number of contributors who are not only astute commentators on the literary scene, but also celebrated creative writers

#### xii Series editor's preface

themselves. Part IV comprises a research bibliography of considerable value to scholars in the field.

For all these reasons, I believe that this volume makes a very important contribution to the *Asian Englishes Today* series. As with a number of other volumes in this series, the study of English in the Philippines is not simply about the study of an Asian variety of the English language, but also provides insights into many other issues, including colonial and postcolonial languages and literatures, languages in contact, language and education, intercultural communication, and English literature worldwide.

Kingsley Bolton July 2008

## Acknowledgements

The three chapters from D. V. S. Manarpaac, Vicente L. Rafael, and Simeon Dumdum et al. were previously published elsewhere, but are included in this collection because of the value they bring. The editors wish to thank Rodopi publishers for permission to reprint the article by D. V. S. Manarpaac, "When I was a child I spake as a child": Reflecting on the limits of a nationalist language policy', first published in *The Politics of English as a World Language*, edited by Christian Mair, Amsterdam, New York: Rodopi, 2003. We also wish to thank Duke University Press, for their permission to reprint the chapter from Vicente L. Rafael, 'Taglish, or the phantom power of the *lingua franca*', first published in *White Love and Other Events in Filipino History*, by Vicente Rafael, Durham, NC: Duke University Press. Finally, we wish to thank Blackwell for permission to reprint the chapter by Simeon Dumdum, Timothy Mo, and Resil Mojares, 'In conversation: Cebuano writers on Philippine literature and English', originally published in *World Englishes* vol. 23, 1, 2004, 191–98.



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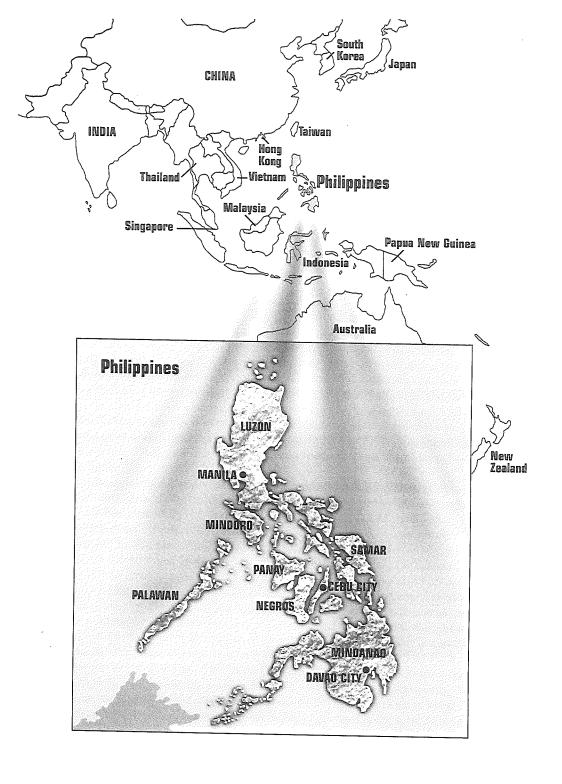
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# Introduction



# Philippine English: Linguistic and literary perspectives

Kingsley Bolton and Ma. Lourdes S. Bautista

#### Encountering the Philippines

The unprepared foreign visitor to the Philippines is often astounded by the immediate encounter with this tropical society and the texture of a daily life that includes crowded and chaotic cities, heat and rain, music and dance, and friendly, hospitable, multi-tongued people in a nation with more than a hundred recognized indigenous languages. In the capital Manila (population twelve million), the street signs are in English; the disc jockey on the radio woos the station's listeners in dulcet American; the bookstores are full of English books (many penned by local writers); and the front pages of the major newspapers assail readers with headlines such as 'PNP Opposes Erap Confinement', '4 Pinoys Hurt in Ship Blast in Australia', and 'Local Bets Troop to Comelec'.

Although most Manileños only speak English to other Filipinos in such formal settings as the boardroom or the law court, and prefer to mix English into a hybrid vernacular of *Taglish* (Tagalog and English) with each other, the presence of an American-influenced variety of English permeates public and private life in an unusual and surprising fashion. The taxi driver may give you a nuanced account of local politics, the coffee shop waitress may discuss *Tess of the D'Urbervilles*, and the salesperson in a store may crack a joke in colloquial Philippine English (*Joke only!*) — interactions unlikely to be repeated in other Asian cities. Our foreign visitors may take this somehow for granted as they head to their business meeting, or in the case of tourists, head for their beach vacation. Or they may find time to consider and to ponder how it is that this predominantly Malay society, with its diaspora of overseas emigrés and workers, happened to become one of the largest English-speaking societies in the world.

As editors, we have been guided by two essential aims in compiling this volume on English in the Philippines. The first of these has been to produce a volume that would be of interest to an international audience, some of whom may be scholars with an extensive knowledge of Philippine linguistics and

literature, while others in this audience may have little previous knowledge in this area. The story of English in the Philippines is a compelling tale, and one that deserves international recognition, we would argue, involving as it does narratives of colonialism and postcolonialism, of hybrid language and literature, as well as contemporary histories of politics and globalization.

A second aim has been to publish a volume that would serve students and teachers in the Philippines who are interested in researching aspects of Philippine English, from both a linguistic and literary perspective. We therefore trust that this volume will not only serve as a record of previous research, but also as a starting point for future studies in this field, and will be of direct use to the local academic and educational community. For both audiences, however, it may be useful at this point to consider at least some of the sociolinguistic (i.e. historical, social, political, and linguistic) realities that have influenced the spread of the language here, not least because of the impact of historical, social, and political factors in shaping English language and literature in the Philippines.

#### The sociolinguistic background

The Republic of the Philippines comprises 7,107 islands located close to the equator, south of the China mainland, east of Vietnam, and northeast of the Indonesian archipelago. For much of its existence as a geographical entity, the Philippines has owed its identity and borders to successive waves of colonialism, and the name Felipinas is said to have been coined in 1543 by the Spanish explorer Ruy de Villalobos in honor of Crown Prince Felipe (or Philip), later King Philip II of Spain (1556-98) (Quimpo, 2003). Ethnically and racially, the majority of Filipinos are considered Austronesian, having a kinship with similar populations in Indonesia and Malaysia, while there are over one hundred indigenous Austronesian languages spoken in the Philippines (McFarland, this volume). The most important indigenous ethnic groups include the Tagalogs on Luzon Island (the majority population in and around Manila), the Cebuanos (or 'Visayans') in the southern islands, and the Ilocanos from northern Luzon. Philippine society is also noticeably creolized, with significant groups of Philippine-Spanish, Philippine-Chinese, and even Philippine-American 'mestizo' groups in the community, particularly in the cities. McFerson comments that contemporary Filipinos are 'virtually "a race of races" ', and that although essentially Malay in racial composition, 'they also have Negrito, Indonesian, Indian, Chinese, Japanese, Arab, European, and American "bloods" ' (2002: 15). The first colonial power to rule the Philippines was Spain, who governed the Philippines from Mexico from 1565 until 1898. During this period, Catholicism became strongly established throughout Philippine society, and today eighty percent of the population claim to be Catholic. Despite this, various types of animistic and folk beliefs are still widely held, while there is also a substantial Muslim population in the south, in and around the island of Mindanao.

The Philippines was occupied and colonized by the US after the Philippine-American War of 1899–1902, which immediately followed the Spanish-American war, when Spain also lost control over Cuba, Puerto Rico, and Guam. The United States essentially maintained colonial control over the Philippines until 1946, at which time the Philippines became an independent nation (a third group of colonizers were in fact the Japanese, who took control of the islands during World War II, from 1941–1944). Since then, the American government has continued to exert a strong influence over Philippine politics, which during the Vietnam War led the United States to give prolonged support to Ferdinand Marcos, whose presidency from 1965-1986 became a dictatorship. After the fall of Marcos as a result of the 'People Power' movement in 1986, Philippine domestic politics has continued to dismay many observers. Even notionally reformist governments, such as those of Corazon Aquino (1986-92) and Fidel Ramos (1992-98), have proved unable to tackle the widespread corruption throughout many sectors of society.

Following Ramos, Joseph 'Erap' Estrada (1998-2001) was elected as a result of his popularity as a film actor, but was subsequently forced to step down and charged with 'economic plunder' in January 2001, when the current President Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo took office. Politically, the Philippine democratic system is still far from stable, and national elections in the country are dogged by violence and electoral manipulation and fraud. Equally worrisome are the assassinations of over 800 left-wing politicians, social activists, and trade union leaders since Arroyo took power. In addition, so many journalists have also been murdered over the last decade that, by 2004, it was claimed that the Philippines was the second most dangerous location in the world for newsmen after Iraq (Mendoza, 2004).

Economically and socially, there are vast differences in wealth between the upper classes of Philippine society ('the oligarchs') and the lower classes of the cities and provinces (the masa, or 'masses'), at a time when increasing numbers of the rural poor are migrating to the cities. Numerous economic reports have indicated that the development of the nation has lagged behind that of comparable Asian societies, such as Malaysia, Thailand, and South Korea. One of the major foreign exchange earners for the society continues to be the export of human labor (particularly female labor), and an estimated eight million Filipinos now work overseas, often in low-paid jobs, as domestic helpers (in Hong Kong), as nurses (in the US and UK), or, in the case of males, as engineers, technicians, and merchant seamen. In the words of a recent BBC report, '[w]ith high literacy rates (87%) and good English speaking ability, Filipinos are arguably the country's greatest export' (Jinkinson, 2003). For those who remain in the Philippines, the prospects for

#### 4 Kingsley Bolton and Ma. Lourdes S. Bautista

domestic employment are usually bleak, unless they have the support of a well-off and well-connected family. To complete this somewhat dismal picture, mention might also be made of the frequency of natural and man-made catastrophes, ranging from such natural disasters as drought, earthquake, and flood to fires, plane crashes, and shipwrecks, all of which have contributed to a national 'culture of disaster' (Bankoff, 2003).

#### Philippine English

The story of Philippine English has its historical origins in the US intervention of 1898, and the American teachers who arrived here toward the end of the Philippine-American War (see the chapters by Bernardo and Gonzalez in this volume). These first teachers, known collectively as the 'Thomasites' (after the US army transport ship Thomas), arrived as early as 1901 and were soon dispersed throughout the islands. They had an important impact, not only as teachers, but also as teacher-trainers, so that by 1921, 91 percent of all teachers were native-born Filipinos and, thus, 'almost from the beginning, Filipinos learned English from Filipinos and the seeds of what we now call Philippine English began' (Gonzalez, 1997: 26–27). By 1918, the census report noted that around 47 percent of the population claimed to speak English, and 55.6 percent claimed the ability to read and write the language. Official American involvement in the teaching of English persisted until the outbreak of war with the Japanese in December 1941, by which time census results indicated that around 27 percent of the population claimed to be able to speak English. Judging by the experience of other colonized nations, the extent to which English had been adopted within the society by that time was remarkable, and Gonzalez comments that:

The rapid spread of the English language in the Philippines was unprecedented in colonial history, for within the space of 41 years, the American regime had done more to spread English than the Spanish Government did in 333 years (1565–1898) of colonization, for at the end of the Spanish Period, only 2% spoke Spanish. (Gonzalez, 1997: 28)

In the post-independence era after 1946, English was retained as an official language in government and education, but was increasingly used alongside the national language, first termed *Wikang Pambansa* ('national language'), then later 'Pilipino', and 'Filipino'. Over the decades, Philippine English began to develop as a 'variety' of English in its own right, associated with a distinct accent, a localized vocabulary, and even a body of creative writing by Philippine writers in English. From the 1960s onwards, local linguists began to describe this localized variety in some detail, despite anxieties among some educators

and policy-makers that the recognition of 'Philippine English' somehow involved the acceptance of a less-proficient variety of the language (Bautista, 1997). However, the latest results from a Social Weather Stations (2006) survey suggest that some 65 percent of the population claim the ability to understand spoken and written English, with 48 percent stating that they write English, but with only 32 percent reporting that they speak the language. The same report then goes on to explain that these totals indicate a marked decline in English proficiency compared to results from 1993 and 2000 (Social Weather Stations, 2006).

Ironically, this decline (perceived or real) in English proficiency has come at a time when the utility of the language and the demand for English are probably at an all-time high, as a result of the remarkable growth of the call center industry and related BPO (business processing outsourcing) operations, including legal and medical transcription, that have mushroomed in the Philippines since the year 2000. The total of employees in the call center industry in 2001 was around 2,000, but by 2006 that figure had risen astonishingly to some 200,000 jobs. One recent report noted that today '[t]he call center business is the fastest growing industry in the country ... [m]ore than 100 centers around the country have created a new class of relatively affluent and independent young Filipinos' (Greenlees, 2006). The recent growth of call centers is providing opportunities for college graduates on an unprecedented scale, with many in this industry calling for an increased emphasis on English proficiency in the public school system as well as in private sector training schemes.

Nevertheless, despite the obvious utility of English in employment, the power and prestige of the language continue to raise concerns among Filipino intellectuals. One such concern has been that, historically, the retention of English in the postcolonial period has exacerbated social inequality and hindered the creation of an authentic sense of nationalism among Filipinos. According to Tollefson's (1991) critique of Philippine language policy, '[t]he key question in the politics of language in the Philippines is: what language(s) should be used in education and in the exercise of commerce, mass media, politics and government?', as the issue of language planning 'has a crucial impact upon access to economic resources, to policy-making institutions, and to political power' (1991: 141). Tollefson then presents a critique of the politics of language from the 1960s to the 1990s. This includes discussion of the communist New People's Army's promotion of 'Pilipino' (as it was then called) to ensure that 'the national language, art, and literature shall be given revolutionary content', Marcos' promotion of English in order to match the needs of the Philippine economy so that 'most students had to be educated for low-paying jobs requiring a little English', and the language policies of the Aquino administration, which left English in a 'dominant position' (143–61). The issue of English in relation to the national language has been regularly debated in past decades. Rolando Tinio, writing in the 1980s, argued that reliance on English contributed to the colonized mentality of the Filipino people, whose 'greatest setback is not our colonial past but our education and development of consciousness in a colonial language', explaining that:

The dismal result of national dissemination of English in the Philippines — Filipinos still exclaim with joy, "We are the third largest English-speaking country in the world!" — can be seen in the fact that the educated elite and unlettered masses, though no two kinds of people could be more dissimilar, are yet similar in one regard — both tend to see the world through American eyes, accepting the American yardstick as the proper standard for measuring any kind of culture or life. (Tinio 1990: 86)

For Tinio, the issue of English and 'where English fails' (in the words of his book's subtitle) is a matter of postcolonial concern crucially linked to a national culture and national pride. For Tollefson, the promotion of English is less an issue of nationalism and more a problem of economic and social equity, as '[t]he impact of using English as the language of government, education, business, technology, and the media is to sustain economic inequalities within Philippine society' (Tollefson, 1991: 163). Thus questions of power and inequality overlap with the 'language rights' of Filipino citizens, as 'a commitment to democracy means the use of the mother tongue at work and school is a fundamental human right' (211), although somewhat inexplicably in Tollefson's analysis, the 100-plus 'mother tongues' of Filipinos are equated with Tagalog-based Filipino.

In the decade or so since the critiques of English from Tinio and Tollefson, many of the social and political issues they raise continue to permeate the intellectual debates on language issues, although the current Arroyo administration has tended to uncritically promote English, at least in official rhetoric. Issues related to both the social stratification of English and questions of national identity also surface throughout many of the chapters in this volume.

#### Philippine English: Linguistic and literary perspectives

As indicated in our opening remarks above, one clear aim of this book project was to bring together a volume of record which surveyed not only linguistic approaches to Philippine English but the approaches of literary scholars as well. The justification for this was rather clear to us as editors, as the emergence of Philippine English as a variety of the English language has been paralleled by recognition accorded to Philippine writers in English over recent years, with

such novelists as F. Sionil Jose, Nick Joaquin, and Jessica Hagedorn and others attracting substantial international interest.

The chapters in this volume are grouped into the four parts of the book. Part I, 'The Sociolinguistic Context', comprises six chapters. The first three chapters from Gonzalez, Bernardo, and Dayag describe the origins and development of English in Philippine society, education, and media, while those that follow from Tupas, Manarpaac, and Rafael raise a number of theoretical questions of mixed provenance (linguistic, literary, anthropological). Part II 'Linguistic Form' focuses on linguistic description, with one chapter on Philippine languages from McFarland, followed by contributions from Tayao, Bolton and Butler, and Bautista on Philippine English accents, vocabulary, and grammar. The final chapter in Part II, from Lockwood, Forey and Price, includes a detailed discussion of the forms of English, with reference to accent, vocabulary, grammar and discourse, occurring in the call-center context.

Part III, 'Philippine Literature in English', comprises seven contributions. The first from Martin discusses literary education and early Philippine writing in the American colonial period, while the second from Tope provides a stylistic analysis of the 'abrogation' and 'appropriation' of language by Philippine English writers. The following three chapters from Abad, Hidalgo, and Hau survey the genres of short fiction, poetry, and the novel, while the contribution from Yuson charts the importance of diasporic Filipino writers in the US and elsewhere. The last contribution in this section, from Dumdum, Mo, and Mojares, highlights the fact that literary creativity is not confined to Manila, and that other regions, including the Visayas, have their own histories of English. In Part IV, Bautista's research bibliography provides a detailed guide to the academic literature in the field.

#### Conclusion

In current discussions of globalization, it has become commonplace to recognize the increasing multilingualism of societies, as the national languages and monolingualism of Western societies in particular are transformed by patterns of immigration, as well as the new literacies of electronic communication. Debates on language policies, however, in many postcolonial contexts still tend to contest the opposition between English as the former colonial language (and/or global *lingua franca*) and a national language, typically lauded as the authentic voice of the people. A recent book by Anderson (2005), however, reminds us that in the era of the Philippine nationalist leader Jose Rizal (executed by the Spanish in 1896), the politics of language took a rather different form:

In the late nineteenth century there was as yet no ugly, commercially debased "international language". Filipinos wrote to Austrians in German, to Japanese in English, to each other in French, or Spanish, or Tagalog, with liberal interventions from the last beautiful international language, Latin. [...] Filipino leaders were peculiarly adapted to this Babelish world. The language of the political enemy was also their private language, though understood by less than 5 percent of the Philippine population. Tagalog, the native language used in Manila and its immediate periphery, was not understood by most Filipinos, and in any case was useless for international communication. Many speakers of rival local languages, especially Cebuano and Ilocano, preferred Spanish, even though this language was, in the Philippines, a clear marker of elite, even collaborationist status. (Anderson, 2005: 5)

At another level, Anderson notes that the Spanish word Filipino had a very different denotation in Rizal's day, and referred only to the locally-born but 'pure Spanish' population. Rizal himself was no Filipino but rather an Indio and ilustrado, as it was not until later in the American colonial period that the term 'Filipino' came to refer to all the inhabitants of the islands. Today, in the Filipino diaspora, the Pinoy population of the United States exceeds two million, some eight million workers take their English with them overseas, and Anderson's 'ugly and commercially debased language' provides hundreds of thousands of jobs for lower middle-class Filipinos. The story of English in the Philippines is barely a century old, but seems set to continue. It is our hope that this volume will enable students and scholars to explore at least some of the complexities of this subject, from both linguistic and literary perspectives.

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# Part I The Sociolinguistic Context





# A favorable climate and soil: A transplanted language and literature

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#### Introduction

The American language has manifested a unique destiny in the Philippines. Remarkably soon after the occupation of the Philippines by the United States in 1898, it was spoken, based on the census of 1918, by an educated elite of 896,358 out of 10.3 million people in the islands, undoubtedly with various levels of competence. The reading levels of students in grade school were only two years below those of their American counterparts (Monroe, 1925). In 1910, the University of the Philippines made its first attempts at published literature through the student journal, the *College Folio* (see Gonzalez, 1987). Without exaggeration, it seems that the English language had found a favorable climate and soil for transplantation in the new colony. Whatever the nationalist feelings of many may have been, Filipinos collectively took a liking to English, and until now the majority have clung to its continuing use for international contacts, intellectual work and higher education, and for certain types of everyday reading.

The beginnings of the English language in the Philippines (1898–1920)

Even during the Spanish Period, individual Philippine scholars studied English on their own. Jose Rizal learned English on his own and in his letters he urged his sister Saturnina to learn English. Apolinario Mabini, initially the brains of the emerging Philippine Republic, prescribed the study of English in his second level academy (Majul, 1967).

When the Military Chaplain of General Elwell Otis, W. D. McKinnon (a Catholic priest from California), took the initiative soon after 1898 to teach English to the locals, he and his team of soldiers were welcomed. They taught

English via the direct method and found ready and willing pupils (Churchill, 2003). Later, when the elementary schools were established and a more regular system of teaching English was in place, the method was initially the direct method followed by the grammar analysis and translation method as used in the public schools in the United States. The teachers were recruited from teachers in American schools and were called 'Thomasites' because the first batch of some 523 teachers arrived aboard the US Army Transport Thomas in August 1901, and thus began the tradition of teaching English analytically, via grammar, definitions of parts of speech, exemplification, and numerous exercises of what we would now call testing rather than teaching exercises (Gonzalez, 2003a; Alberca, 1994, 1996). American phonology was not formally taught, but a form of oratory and declamation overladen with the traditional Filipino oratorical style and manner of delivery (not the micro exercises in phonemic distinctions which were used in ESL after World War II) was quite common. Reading was done via phonics although, in 1925, when the first national measure was taken of achievement in English by Filipinos by the Paul Monroe team, it was reported that the children read like 'birds', a simile to describe the accented Philippine English used (Monroe, 1925). As noted above, these children were only two years behind their American counterparts in reading achievement, no small accomplishment for a people who had begun learning English only in 1903. By 1918, 8.7% English speakers were reported among a total of 10.3 million people in the system (for the census period 1903-1918).

The students wrote compositions in a comprehensible but antiquated Victorian style of English writing which I have described elsewhere as eventually evolving into the Philippine classroom composition style of writing in English (Gonzalez, 1991). What was remarkable was that literature in American and British English varieties was learned quickly and that within less than a decade, the University of the Philippines produced its first printed College Folio of student literary writing and the first harvest of writers in English appeared. among the locals, thus giving birth to Philippine literature in English, which contributed to the growth of Philippine English as a transplanted variety of the language.

Thus from the first two decades of the English language in the Philippines was born the transplanted variety of the language or 'Philippine English' with its distinctive pronunciation, its style of academic writing and an emerging Philippine literature in English, then for the most part still a Manila phenomenon consisting of short poems, essays of a literary nature, and short stories all born on native Philippine soil. As an example of a transplanted language growing so rapidly in new soil, the vitality and the quality of this new variety were nothing short of remarkable.

#### The second generation (1920–1941)

By 1921, at the end of the administration of the Democrat Francis Burton Harrison as Governor General, the civil service of the colony had become completely Filipino except for the military leadership and its top echelons, including the Department of Public Instruction. The Thomasites who had come to the Philippines in the twenty years from 1901 to 1921 had returned to the United States or had chosen to remain in the Philippines as private employees marrying into local families (Gonzalez, 2003a). Only the superintendents of English in the Department of Public Instruction continued to be Americans, the rest Filipinos. In fact, at no time except for the first months of the Thomasites were American teachers in the public school system in the majority, the rest were Filipinos. The people who spread the Philippine variety of English among Filipinos were Filipino teachers under the tutelage of their American mentors.

In this period, a total of 209 Filipinos were sent as scholars to the United States as pensionados (supported fellows) to pursue their college degrees, including some graduate studies in law, medicine, and veterinary science. Empirically based on a small sample is a study by Gonzalez et al. (2003), in which we did sample testing of written and oral structures of Filipinos belonging to five generations. The second generation, those who had finished their high school in 1931, were found to be the ones who had the best written outputs, although Filipinos of the 1970s, the younger ones, scored better in grammar and mechanical tests. This second generation of Filipinos who had been taught according to the grammar analytic method and by traditional methods ended up writing the best and most 'correct' English compositions. Various causes may be cited to explain the success of the second generation. It was not so much their exposure to formal and traditional grammar instruction but their exposure to native speakers and models, the availability of good texts for reading and writing imitation, and occasions for sustained writing, which were the practice in those days, plus the lack of a competing language in class like the national language in the post-World War II period.

This period was likewise the golden age of young writers of English who had grown up and improved on the skills of the first generation and saw young writers of the College Folio develop further as English teachers and mature in their craft as poets, essayists, and fiction writers. The writers in English began to manifest an identity of their own and began to constitute themselves into a 'school' that would be clearly identifiable once the beginnings of a history of Philippine literature in English began to be outlined in the post-war period. One thinks of essayists who flourished at that time such as Salvador Lopez and Jose Garcia Villa; the latter likewise took part in experiments in poetry following American models. The younger set participated in competitions such

as the annual Commonwealth contests in poetry; one thinks of Rafael Zulueta da Costa, whose prize-winning long poem 'Like the Molave' became famous.

More traditional was Alfredo Litiatco, who devoted his special gifts to encouraging young writers to publish their work in the Graphic, his career was cut short when he died during the Japanese period from tuberculosis. Arturo Rotor, a trained physician, continued writing before and after the Japanese Period but returned to his craft as a doctor afterwards. Going into exile to work in the fields in Stockton, California, was Carlos Bulosan, who had a light pen for comedy but also for the poignancy of exile. He began writing on the theme of the Filipino in exile in the United States, a theme that would be repeated many times by other Filipinos in exile almost throughout the next twenty-five years, in Bienvenido N. Santos' fiction, some stories of N. V. M. Gonzalez, and the poems of Francisco Viray (Cruz, 2000).

The Philippine Commonwealth came into existence in 1935, and we had the beginnings of self-rule even amidst the threat of an impending invasion and war. From the point of view of language and literature, the search for a national language began with a mandated search by the 1935 Constitution, which gave rise to a National Language Law in 1936, the choice of Tagalog as the basis of the national language in 1937, the production of a bilingual wordlist (the beginnings of a dictionary) and a grammar. This in turn led to the teaching of Tagalog at a summer teachers' institute and eventually to the introduction of Tagalog into fourth year of high school in 1940 and its becoming an official national language in the same year (Gonzalez, 1980).

The Laurel Government was set up by the Japanese Military Government under the rubric of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere, and Tagalog was confirmed as the official national language although English continued to be used for government functions. After July 4, 1946, attempts at the normal functioning of government were made, and classes resumed, although many teachers had perished during the war from illness or from the war itself. English continued to be used as the main medium of instruction, the only difference being that the national language was now taught daily as a subject from grade one up to the fourth year of high school as Wikang Pambansa (national language), later Filipino.

#### Post-war developments (1946–1980)

The main characteristic of the period from the late 1940s to the 1960s was the introduction of the Teaching of English as a Second Language approach, based on the technology learned by the American structuralist linguists in teaching foreign languages to Americans during World War II. The same techniques and approaches were adopted for the teaching of English as a second language and were then incorporated into a theory, a psychology, and

a set of practices and materials (a methodology) which were introduced in the Philippines initially by Clifford Prator of UCLA and spread systemically as a result of the establishment of the Philippine Center for Language Study with funding from the Rockefeller Foundation at the Department of Education, later, at Philippine Normal College, the latter institution supported by the Ford Foundation (Prator, 1950).

Subsequent documentation (see Sibayan et al., 1975) describes through a case study how language innovation and developments in approaches to teaching in the public schools (the private schools were hardly touched) resulted in a change of methodology and the introduction of teaching materials designed by Filipino staff with the guidance of specialists from UCLA, factors which explain the success of the system-wide innovation. These materials were distributed among the public schools and changed the technology and practices of teaching English with an emphasis on pronunciation using contrastive microphonology, substitution drills on lexicon and sentence patterns, and guided composition and initial reading.

Contrary to initial expectations, however, the results were mixed: there was a decided improvement in pronunciation as later tests would show, but communicative fluency did not always result, since much of the learning was through memorization and repetition and was not genuine spontaneous communication. Sentence patterns were learned by rote rather than through efforts in genuine communication. With the emphasis on microreading skills, traditional reading skills for longer texts were neglected, as were composition and the reading of longer texts. It did not help that in spite of the new materials, distribution was slow and for many years the textbook-student ratio was unsatisfactory.

When the new advocates became aware of these limitations, lessons on communication and interactive work were additionally supplied to remedy the sometimes exaggerated rote drills which seemed to prevail. There was also an attempt to introduce extensive and intensive reading, but by this time there was a problem in the supply of reading materials. The time of most teachers was taken up by other duties so that it became very difficult to impose on the teachers the assignment of frequent compositions or long themes (see Gonzalez, 2003b). In 1974, the TESL program was incorporated as part of a more comprehensive bilingual education program (with the use of Filipino), and later in the 1980s English for Specific Purposes was introduced for classes in high school and in the last two decades for what we now call content-based instruction (CBI). What seem to prevail at present across the system are practices which try to incorporate all features. Within the bilingual education system, principles of second language learning are emphasized at the lower grades, communicative language teaching at the intermediate grades, advanced reading and writing (including ESP) at the upper grades, and, where acceptable, content-based instruction and ESP for special classes.

#### Philippine English literature and language

In the meantime, Philippine literature in English has continued to flourish, giving rise to new generations of writers both at home and abroad. Among Filipino writers in English abroad, the theme of the Filipino in exile has now become passé. Instead there is fiction (long and short) of a Filipino growing up as a first- or second-generation Filipino American in the United States and the inner conflicts that this experience entails, along with the hybrid sensibility that is manifested among the current generation of Filipino Americans. Locally, the problem among Filipinos writing in English on native Filipino soil is to come up with new themes which are authentically Filipino, seen in such writers as Cirilo F. Bautista, Isagani Cruz, Ophelia Dimalanta, Marjorie Evasco, and F. Sionil Jose, who write with genuine Filipino voices in English. Such writers are contributing to a clearly identifiable corpus of Philippine literature in English and are being published and translated internationally as writers in English. These authors write from their own background as Filipinos not in exile, but as bicultural internationally-oriented personalities in the Philippines. They are in tune more with Asia than with the US or other Englishspeaking countries.

The context of Philippine English as a distinct variety is also where changes in the English language are most interesting, not only in the lexicon but also in 'Filipinisms' (special loan translations from Filipino to English) and in the restructuring of English grammar (e.g. tense-aspect, article systems), which are part of the Asianization of the English language. This language situation has resulted in language and literature becoming the expression of a culture that now has ties with other English-using Asian societies. Contemporary Philippine English, after more than a century in the Philippines as a transplanted language undergoing its own evolution, is also undergoing a process of standardization. While the climate for the transplantation has been favorable and the soil for the new English coming from the United States has been rich and nourishing, the symbiosis between climate, soil, and plant never results in a perfect clone of the transplanted language. In fact, because the initial teachers of English were Filipinos themselves under the tutelage of the Thomasite Americans, replication of all features of the source language was never completely achieved at any time.

The substratal vernaculars of the Philippines, with their own Austronesian sound systems, heavily influenced the imperfect imitation of the sound system of the new code. Moreover, in the days of initial English language teaching, the teaching of pronunciation was not stressed; nor did the technology of TESL have any influence, as TESL and its phonological teaching techniques did not arrive until the 1950s. From the beginning then, there were many local varieties of Philippine English based on the first language of the learners. The description of the phonology of Philippine English has been extensively covered in the literature, beginning with Llamzon (1969) and expanded in more detailed studies from Alberca (1978), Gonzalez (1997), Gonzalez and Alberca (1978), and Tayao (2004). Cruz and Bautista (1995) did the first inventory of the local Philippine English lexicon, while Bautista (2000) has begun work on the restructuring taking place in the grammar. Gonzalez (1991) studied the writing characteristics of certain styles and made initial studies on the literature produced by Filipino writers (Gonzalez, 1987).

#### Linguistic features

The main characteristics of Philippine English may be summarized as follows: the immediate impression when one hears Philippine English spoken (the hearer being a native American English speaker) is that the variety being spoken is syllable-timed rather than stress-timed with full pronunciation of the vowels (hence, the tendency toward a spelling pronunciation); intonation and other expressive features are clearly local, often with a rise in intonation in wh- questions and in tag questions. In the segmental phonemes, the vowel inventory is reduced, with a tendency to substitute /a/ for /ə/, the variable lack of distinction between the rounded and unrounded mid-back vowels /o/ and /ɔ/, and the tendency to pronounce /v/ as /u/ (again a spelling pronunciation). In the consonants, some members of cultural communities do not pronounce f or v but collapse them into p or b. There is an absence of the voiced /z/, which is rendered as /s/, and the absence of /š/ and  $/\check{z}/$ . There is the use of the tapped /r/ rather than the retroflex /r/ of American English. Stress is distinctively placed on syllables including twosyllable words (e.g. publish), three-syllable words (sémester) and in polysyllabic words, the stress is usually placed on the antepenultimate syllable (testimony).

The lexicon has local names and terms, loan translations from local idioms e.g. 'open the light' from 'buksan mo ang ilaw' and 'open the radio' for 'buksan mo ang radyo' as well as the local use of prepositions after certain verbs and adjectives not in the native source (result to instead of result in, different twoword and three-word verbs), and the recasting of American idioms as well as direct translations from local phrases 'I am ashamed to you' rather than 'I am embarrassed in front of you'.

Writing was learned in school from original American models, and hence the rhetorical structure was based on American models which were taught in writing courses, but these structures tended to be imitative and to leave little room for creativity except in mature writers, with the tone quite formal even when the context called for informality and what Joos (1967) calls a 'consultative' or informal style (see Gonzalez, 1991). The ability to sustain prose of a narrative nature is relatively new and now appears in novels, but until the late 1940s, Philippine novels in English were rare. In general

20 Andrew Gonzalez, FSC

creativity and experimentation began earlier in poetry than in prose, although there are now such interesting non-traditional fictionists as Ninotchka Rosca and Jessica Hagedorn.

#### Code-switching and varieties of Philippine English

In addition to geographically-based lects, there are other lects of formality and informality. However, for informal communications, bilingual or multilingual Filipinos would rather use the national language Filipino or their home vernacular. When they have to speak English but would like to do so informally, they deliberately code-switch, which presupposes competence in both the local language and English. It remains to be seen whether such codeswitching will give rise to a Philippine pidgin such as Chabacano (a blend of a local Central Philippine language and Spanish), since the social conditions which gave rise to Chabacano are not present. The speakers of pidgin Filipino-Spanish (Chabacano) did not know enough Spanish but used a local vernacular and interspersed content words and sometimes even functors into the local language from Spanish to make themselves understood by their Spanish masters, and this pidgin later became creolized. This is not the case with contemporary code-switching, where speakers are knowledgeable in both languages but switch to bring familiarity and informality to the situation. When they do not have enough English to explain themselves, they code-switch to Filipino. On the other hand, when they have to discuss scientific and technical matters and do not have the language in Filipino for this, they code-switch to English. This is not to say that this situation is permanent, as it might change in the future.

As Gonzalez and Bautista (1985) argue, the best way to describe the subvarieties of Philippine English is to refer to them as 'edulects' more than 'acrolects', 'mesolects', and 'basilects', since the levels are a function of the education of the speaker and the kind of English language tuition he/she received in school. English is learned for the most part in schools and the type of school one attends pretty much determines the level and quality (approximation to the American model) that one learns from the school. Ultimately, of course, since the quality of school is a function of tuition fees, the school is reflective of the socio-economic background of students' families. There are exceptions, however, as the level of English spoken in some public schools (where the clientele and teachers tend to be less affluent) can be adequate and compare equally well with the 'standard' of the private schools.

One issue which has not yet seen resolution is whether or not Philippine English has become standardized. Llamzon claimed as early as 1969 that, based on models of reputable English speakers in universities and among country leaders, English had become 'standardized', a position which was challenged and which nowadays Llamzon no longer claims (personal communication).

There are still subvarieties especially if the speakers are Cebuanos, Hiligaynons, Maranaos, Ilocanos where one immediately detects what cultural community the speaker belongs to. Moreover, as noted above, there are lects, but the lects are not so much determined by socio-economic status but by the type of school one has attended; one can be from the lower SES but be a scholar in an elite school and 'pick up' the accent. It seems that if there is to be a standard that will be accepted by the elites and the educated, it will be the edulect from the elite schools where the dialectal substratal manifestations have been minimized in favor of the type of English already described with its specific and distinctive characteristics. One outside influence that will hasten the acceptance of the standard is its acceptability in international communications and in global conferences, which will act as a brake to any kind of excess differentiation. The use of Philippine English in international communications and for the mass media (TV and radio) as well as the print medium (daily newspapers) may promote the most acceptable variety, which in turn may become the standard. Indeed, this is taking place at present so that the Philippine English that will be a candidate for one of the Asian Englishes will be this standardized variety of Philippine English (Bautista, 2000, Delbridge et al., 1981).

#### The linguistic repertoire of the Filipino

As far as prehistory is concerned, the inhabitants of this archipelago have been multilingual, speaking their local vernaculars but likewise speaking a regional lingua franca which allowed intertribal communication. With the coming of the Spaniards, the elites especially of Manila and the main urban centers began to add Spanish to their repertoire. With the Americans, still another foreign language was added, English. With the development of the national language beginning in 1937, the use of Tagalog, renamed Pilipino and later Filipino, became widespread so that the latest census (National Statistics Office, 2000) indicates that more than 85% of Filipinos now speak at least a colloquial variety of this language or what we in psycholinguistic terminology would call Basic Interpersonal Communicative Skills (BICS).

Prior to the rise of fervent nationalism, which began in the 1960s and rose to a peak in the 1970s, the repertoire of the educated Filipino was dominated by the English language. With the younger generation, however, who condemned the 'miseducation' of the Filipino in a foreign language, there was a conscious attempt to use Filipino not only for everyday communication but also for formal occasions and for class use. Thus, in the last 35 years, the domains of the English language have been reduced in favor of Filipino except in the following, where English still plays a dominant role: print media,

especially the daily newspapers (21 out of 28 daily newspapers are in English), and higher education, where interest in using Filipino as the medium of instruction peaked in the early 1970s. To a large extent, many universities have now reverted to using English, although in the more popular schools, a codeswitching variety is used. Among college students who have not learned English well, the tendency is to answer in Filipino if the teacher asks a question in English. For international business, diplomacy, and at the highest level for board meetings in the country's business centers, English still dominates. The other domains are now in Filipino, including the entertainment domain where more than 65% of TV is in Filipino and close to 90% of radio is in Filipino. There are popular tabloids in Filipino, and now it is considered somewhat chic to see movies in Filipino and not just in English. With the availability of cheap VCDs and DVDs, English movies have become more widespread even in the remotest barrios which have electricity (Dayag, 2004). The stable domains of English continue to be higher education, business transactions in multinational and internationally-oriented companies, diplomacy and international relations, and as a global *lingua franca* for relations with the world.

In the last quarter of the twentieth century, concern was voiced by parents who complained to the Department of Education and to the national leadership that English competence had 'deteriorated' and that it was time to renew the teaching of English. This began during the time of President Corazon C. Aquino, and continued during the administrations of President Fidel V. Ramos and President Joseph Estrada, and was given new impetus by the current President, Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo. All of a sudden, in response to this concern, there has been a return to the use of the English language in seminars and meetings, especially outside of Tagalog-speaking areas, as well as an emphasis on the renewal of methodology and the retraining of teachers in oral competence and reading skills, a movement that is ongoing. The biggest drawback to any serious renewal is the quality of the teachers entering the teaching force. For the most part, these have been trained in substandard colleges of education where the faculty themselves have problems with the English language. Hence, unless there is a decided improvement in the quality of professors in colleges of education, little hope can be expected from shortterm summer programs. When these teachers start teaching, whatever errors they commit in English are fossilized, there is a lack of fluency in the language, and the grammar becomes idiosyncratic and not the systematically structured grammar one associates with the standardizing version of Philippine English.

The great incentive for improving one's English language competence is the foreign market, where Filipinos with English competence are very much in demand not only as health professionals (doctors, nurses, medical technologists, x-ray technologists, and now midwives and caregivers) but also as elementary school teachers in parochial schools in the United States, and as hotel and restaurant workers all over the world, especially the Middle East.

There are also large numbers of call centers located in the Philippines where English-language spoken skills are given a premium. Whatever deficiencies there are in the undergraduate training of these workers, intensive English language courses are given with a view to improving their competence, although in the end only a minority qualifies. These developments have had a healthy influence in helping people become aware of the need for the second language and of the quality that is to be aimed for, and has resulted in determined attempts to attain this quality especially at the level of spoken proficiency.

The funds generated by more than close to 7.5 million overseas Filipino workers (2.5 million in the United States) amount to a conservative US\$7 billion yearly, and are increasing (Calucag, 2004). This amount is recorded in official channels and excludes the informal channels. The largest source of foreign exchange is this OFW (Overseas Filipino Workers) contribution, which is expected to grow. Hence, the prognosis for the restoration of English language competence is favorable.

#### Conclusion

The work of Chaplain McKinnon and his initial group of soldier-teachers of English began a process which eventually resulted in the creation of a new variety of English which has by now become a permanent feature of the communicative repertoire and culture of the Filipino. And while in 1918 the Filipino had to learn English from relatively unskilled native and second language speakers of American English (some of them immigrants themselves) using questionable teaching methods, the new speaker of English in the Philippines is not only bilingual (or multilingual) with his/her own indigenous transplanted variety of Asian English, but also relatively sophisticated and relatively well-educated. Indeed, as mentioned above, some Filipinos are now being employed in small schools in the United States (parish schools and Hispanic public schools) to teach Americans their variety of English and their experience of a mixed culture. Their added voice will be even more formidable in the future as there are more than two million Filipinos in the United States today, a number many times greater than the colonial civil service and military who occupied the Philippines.

Whatever one's feelings are about the American colonial experience in the Philippines, English language and culture have become an integral part of Filipino culture. To reflective and critically thinking Filipinos, the experience has had both advantages and disadvantages. The advantages come from a facility with a language that gives them access to the world of science and technology and world culture; the disadvantages come from their seemingly divided loyalty to their national identity as Malays and their internalization of Western (American) ideals of democracy which make demands that the structure of their society and their culture are not equipped to handle. The inner contradiction is painful and the seeming paralysis of reform frustrating. And yet it is this Filipino self-expression through the English language which makes them even more aware and sensitive about these contradictions. They speak English well by standards of intelligibility but not international elegance; they express their insights about their colonial past with more facility in an alien tongue than in their native tongue. In their reconstitution of reality through cultural expression, they do so better in English than in Filipino but for all that, they know they are Filipino and will never be American. But part of their new reality as Filipinos is that they are not willing to give up the by-now century-old heritage of English.

They will have to work out the contradictions themselves. These have been mirrored in the second-generation Filipinos who were born and grew up in the United States and are now writing of their experiences in America, not as immigrants but as descendants of immigrants, writers such as Ninotchka Rosca and Jessica Hagedorn, or their brothers and sisters who never left the Philippines and are writing of their own experiences of a seemingly tainted past and now a continuing situation that refuses to right itself — the new voices of Paulino Lim's rebels, F. Sionil Jose's affluent but decadent countrymen, Cirilo F. Bautista's expressionistic world of past and present, and the early Nick Joaquin's archetypal symbolism of a living pagan past with a veneer of the West and of Western Christianity.

From a wider perspective and with the hindsight of a century of experience in learning and using the English language on soil outside the United States, some insights may be evident. And one insight here is that what makes Philippine English different from other Asian Englishes is that it is a transplant from American English, itself a transplant, and from this point of view, shares common historical lines of developments with other transplants not from the United States but from the British Isles in developing countries in Africa and Asia.

One conclusion investigators can immediately draw from the Philippine English experience is that 'whatever is received is received in the manner of the receiver', to use an old Scholastic principle. What becomes of the transplant is very much a function not only of geography but of the society which receives the transplant, which includes the types of languages already in use in the receiving country, the role if any of linguae francae, the role if any of a national language (there was none in the Philippines), the means by which the new transplant is propagated, and the social and economic dominance of the language. It seems that the least important factor, most humbling for the English teacher, is the method and the procedures by which the language is taught. More important for explaining the continuing spread of English are the economic advantages of the new language and its promise of education, social mobility and advancement, and indirectly, the hunger created in the host population for education which was not accessible under Spanish colonialism.

Perhaps most interesting of all in the case of the Philippines (though it is not unique, as a similar situation is found in Singapore) is that a second language, English, has become a permanent feature of society, and that the use of English remains so important in higher education, business, and international diplomacy. The transplantation has now reached full circle, not in linguistic extinction, not in deterioration or return to a foreign language, but as a second language with specific domains and standards.

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2

# English in Philippine education: Solution or problem?

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Introduction: A history of criticism and debate in English in Philippine education

The English language is well entrenched in Philippine formal education. English was introduced into the formal educational system when the United States of America colonized the Philippines. On April 7, 1900, US President William McKinley issued a Letter of Instruction declaring that English should be the medium of instruction at all levels of the public educational system in the Philippines. The prudence of this policy was doubtful from the day it was issued. According to Prator (1950: 15), McKinley originally ordered the use of the 'language of the people' in the public schools to be set up in the Philippines, but the Letter of Instruction that was issued stated otherwise. Practical considerations seem to have dictated the policy of using English, as there were no teachers and teaching materials in the Philippine languages. In addition to these practical considerations, Martin (1999) suggests that the American colonial government adopted the English-only policy for political and governance reasons as well. She reports that English was thought of as a unifying language that could harmonize Filipinos from the different regions who spoke different languages and dialects. Moreover, English was seen 'as the language that would provide the Filipinos access to civilization ... the life of reason and prudence' (Martin, 1999: 134).

Since then, the policy has been criticized, upheld, denounced, sustained, eventually modified, and is still being debated at all levels of educational policy making (Bernardo, 2004). In the 2005 session of the Philippine Congress, there were at least three proposed bills calling for the reinstatement of English as the sole medium of instruction at all levels of the educational system. The country's President has made a similar proposal, as have many of the country's political and business leaders. These proponents often refer to their own English-only educational experience and their perceptions of how effective it

was in developing their English language proficiency, in expanding their intellectual horizons, and in forming them as leaders of the country.

#### Early criticisms of the English-language policy

Unfortunately, such nostalgic reminiscences do not seem to represent the experience of most Filipino learners during the over 100 years of using English in the educational system. In fact, there has been consistent and systematic documentation of students' learning difficulties associated with using English as the medium of instruction. Such reports were noted very early in the implementation of the English language policy. According to Salamanca (1968), two American scholars who independently assessed public education in the Philippines in 1904 and 1913 both found low levels of English language proficiency among Filipino students. Saleeby (1924) also conducted a separate assessment and, after noting the problems of using English, recommended that three regional languages should be used together with English in elementary education. Soon after Saleeby's assessment, the Monroe Survey Commission of 1925 also assessed the state of Philippine education and found that 'no other single difficulty has been so great as that of overcoming the foreign language handicap' (Monroe, 1925: 127).

After World War II and after the Philippines declared its independence from the American colonizers, educational scholars began documenting how the local languages might be more effective media of instruction compared to English. In the 1940s and 1950s, there were numerous experimental studies conducted involving the exclusive use of local languages as media of instruction. Jose V. Aguilar conducted one of the more famous of these studies, which was a longitudinal experiment using Hiligaynon as the medium of instruction in grade schools in Iloilo from 1948 to 1954 (Ramos, Aguilar and Sibayan, 1967). The Aguilar study and others suggested that Filipino students learned more effectively when they were taught using their native languages. Moreover, these studies found that the students were better able to use the knowledge they learned in schools in their homes and communities. These experiments provided important evidence for the educational advantages of using local languages in education, and therefore, for the educational disadvantages of using English as the medium of instruction.

#### The 'decline' of English in education

A convergence of three factors diminished the pre-eminence of English in Philippine education around the late 1950s. The first factor was the positive results of experiments involving native languages as media for instruction. The

second factor was the UNESCO declaration proclaiming the need to begin schooling in the students' mother tongue 'because they understand it best and because to begin their school life in the mother tongue will make the break between the home and school as small as possible' (UNESCO, 1953: 691). The third factor was a recommendation made by Prator (1950) that introduced the idea of teaching English as a second language. These three factors paved the way for the use of Philippine languages in various roles within the educational process. For example, the Revised Philippine Education Program (Bureau of Public Schools, 1957) mandated the use of the vernaculars as languages of instruction for the first two grades of elementary school. The program also mandated that English be taught as a subject but not used as the medium of instruction. The program also required a shift to English as the medium of instruction from third grade through college, using the vernacular as an 'auxiliary medium' of instruction in Grades 3 and 4, and Filipino (the national language) as an auxiliary medium in Grades 5 and 6.

New criticisms on the use of English in Philippine education emerged during the late 1960s with the rise of the nationalist movement and of antiimperialist (i.e. anti-colonial, anti-American) sentiments, particularly in the educational sector. The writings of nationalist scholar Renato Constantino crystallized the strong negative sentiments against the use of English in schools. He wrote:

> The first, and perhaps the master stroke in the plan to use education as an instrument of colonial policy was the decision to use English as the medium of instruction. English became the wedge that separated the Filipinos from their past and later was to separate educated Filipinos from the masses of their countrymen. English introduced the Filipinos to a strange, new world. With American textbooks, Filipinos started learning not only the new language but also a new way of life, alien to their traditions. [...] This was the beginning of their education. At the same time it was the beginning of their miseducation. (1982: 6)

The argument was that the continued use of English in education was part of the ongoing American colonial/imperialist agenda to develop Filipinos who thought in ways the Americans wanted them to think, not in ways that were good for Filipinos.

#### Sustaining English in a bilingual education program

However, these strong criticisms and denunciations of English were not powerful enough to dislodge English from Philippine education. A compromise policy was approved in the early 1970s which provided for bilingual education in Philippine basic education (Department of Education,

1974; see Sibayan, 1986 for an account of how this compromise policy came to be). The Bilingual Education Policy (BEP) of 1974 mandated the use of both English and Pilipino as media of instruction in elementary and high school. The goal of the policy was to develop students' language proficiencies in English and Pilipino by using either language in two broad domains of learning. The learning areas in the curriculum were divided into the English domain (English communication arts, mathematics, and science) and the Pilipino domain (all other subjects including Pilipino communication arts, social studies, and history).

The BEP is still the policy in force at present with slight revisions. The Department of Education, Culture, and Sports (1987) reiterated exactly the same provisions of the BEP in a new department order. However, the new department order recast the role of the two languages in instruction. Filipino was to be the language of literacy and of scholarly discourse, and English was maintained as the international language and the non-exclusive language of science and technology. But even with this recasting of roles, there has been no real change in the implementation of the BEP at most levels of education.

#### Current debates

It is this bilingual education system that is presently being criticized by some sectors of society. These sectors blame the poor outcomes of Philippine education on the shift from an English-only policy to the bilingual policy. The basis of this seems to be mainly anecdotal reports from leaders of these sectors about how good their English-only education was. We should emphasize at this point that the most comprehensive evaluation of the BEP, conducted by Gonzalez and Sibayan (1988), revealed that the shift to BEP did not result in any significant gains or losses in overall student achievement. The study asserted that the perceived deterioration of student learning was related to other factors including inadequate teacher training, textbooks, and learning materials. It seems that the discourse on the role of English in education is one that is not shaped simply by empirical evidence. There are many competing discourses on the role of English in education, and these competing discourses have been moved to and from the center of public and policy discussions over the last century.

#### Competing discourses: Past and present

In an earlier paper, Bernardo (2004) elaborated on five themes in the competing discourses on the role of English in Philippine education. He identified three themes that argue for the exclusive and/or intensified use of

English in Philippine education: (a) the use of English for social integration and/or control, (b) the pragmatic difficulties in shifting away from English, and (c) the usefulness of English in the economic and intellectual domains. He further identified two themes that indicate the need to reject the use of English in Philippine education: (d) the colonizing and oppressive power of English, and (e) the harmful effects of using English in the learning of the typical Filipino student.

#### English for social integration and/or control

As mentioned earlier, the main factor motivating the American colonial government's decision to use English as the medium of instruction was that it would serve as a means of unifying the ethnolinguistically diverse Filipino people. Similar arguments for social integration have also been proposed in recent decades, asserting that English serves as a unifying element and that its use forestalls a contentious and divisive debate about which Philippine languages to use as media for instruction. But scholars have argued that the social integration that English has brought about might not actually be good for Filipinos. Many scholars have argued that the use of English has developed in Filipinos a national identity that is defined in terms of the agenda of the American colonizers, and they note that the underlying world view still persists over half a century after independence from the colonizer (see e.g. Constantino, 1974; Enriquez and Protacio-Marcelino, 1984; Ordoñez, 1999; San Juan, 1998; and Wurfel, 1988).

#### The pragmatic difficulties in shifting away from English

Even those who reject the social integration discourse acknowledge that there are very practical difficulties in shifting the medium of instruction to Filipino or some other Philippine languages. These difficulties existed during the American colonial period when there was concern about the American teachers' inability to teach using the local languages, the lack of local teachers who could teach using the local languages, the absence of textbooks and other learning materials in the local languages. There was also a concern that the local languages were not intellectualized enough to provide access to the wealth of knowledge at that time.

Most of these difficulties persist to this day; and in some cases, the difficulties have been intensified. For example, Filipinos eventually gained qualifications to teach but their credentials were earned by going through the colonial educational system in English. These successful products of the English-only system were unlikely to depart from or even question the established practices of that system. The population of the Philippines has also ballooned to uncontrollable proportions, which creates an even more difficult challenge for the formal school system to produce enough learning materials in local languages. In today's knowledge society, the body of knowledge in the various domains of learning has expanded so rapidly that the task of developing translations of these materials into the local languages has become even more unmanageable.

#### The usefulness of English

The most overt and persistent arguments for maintaining English as the medium of instruction involve the supposed advantage of English (over Filipino and all other local languages) as a medium for intellectual pursuits, for international communication, for economic advancement, especially in the current globalizing world environment. From the earliest implementation of English as the medium of instruction policy during the American colonial period, it was already argued that English would be the better medium to give Filipinos access to the knowledge of other civilizations. These arguments are still valid as most of the knowledge in the various domains of learning is documented in the English language.

English is also the language used in most of the 'controlling domains' in the Philippines. Sibayan (1994) defined the controlling domains as the domains of power and prestige, which control the national and individual lives of people. In almost all these domains, the institutions, structures, and processes require English proficiency (Gonzalez, 2004; Gonzalez, Bernardo, Bautista, and Pascasio, 2000). It makes sense, therefore, that schools should try to develop the English language proficiency of Filipino students, as long as English is so important in these domains. These arguments on the usefulness of English in such settings have been intensified by globalization in its various manifestations. English has become the pre-eminent language in global trade, in global labor markets, the new information and communication technologies (Doronila, 1994; Gonzalez, 2000). Maintaining and strengthening English language education is crucial from this perspective.

#### The colonizing and oppressive power of English

Perhaps the most emotionally compelling argument for the repudiation of English relates to the effects of English in subjugating the Filipino mind. As Constantino (1982: 19) asserted, the use of English was instrumental in the 'mis-education' of Filipinos, as 'education saw to it that the Filipino mind was subservient to that of the master'. Therefore, the use of English in Philippine education should be terminated in order to thwart the ceaseless subjugation of Filipinos within the colonial/postcolonial dynamics. Other scholars have argued that the true liberation of the Filipino people from their colonial/ postcolonial ties can begin only when the use of English in formal education and in many of the controlling domains is rejected (Enriquez and Protacio-Marcelino, 1984; Melendrez-Cruz, 1996).

In a similar ideological vein, more recent scholarship has also argued that the continued use of English serves to further the divide between the 'haves' and the 'have-nots' of Philippine society. Gonzalez (1980) and Tupas (2001, 2004) have observed that the intellectual, social, and economic advantages that are supposed to be gained with English proficiency have been limited to the sectors of Philippine society that are already privileged. Tollefson (1991) even claims that English may actually be part of the cause of Filipino poverty, instead of being a solution to poverty.

This problematic thread begins with access (or the lack of it) to good English language education. Sibayan and Gonzalez (1996: 149) noted that socioeconomic status 'is the most significant and influential factor in gaining access to competence in English through the schools'. Indeed, as Tupas (2001: 15) notes, 'those who attain near-native competence in the language because of excellent education belong to the top five percent of the population and usually come from Metro Manila and other urban centers of the country'. Those from the middle socioeconomic class, according to Sibayan and Gonzalez (1996: 151), 'learn English in less-than-ideal circumstances, have a short pre-university learning experience of 10 years ... and for the most part attain a passive competence in English. ... These are the ones chosen by a social selection process to occupy lower-level positions in business establishments and shop-floor jobs.' The poor are severely limited in their access to education and to quality English language education. Those who manage to finish college do so in colleges of the poorest quality. They end up speaking rather poor English, repeatedly fail the government's professional licensing examinations, which are given in English, and settle for low-paying low-level jobs if they manage to gain employment at all.

#### The damaging effects of English on learning

From an educational perspective, one would think that the strongest argument against maintaining English as the medium of instruction in Philippine education would involve the consistent empirical evidence on the damaging effects of using English on Filipino students' learning. These damaging effects were noted in the earliest assessments of the American colonial educational system in the Philippines (e.g. Saleeby, 1924; Monroe, 1925), in the empirical studies comparing the use of the vernacular to that of English in the 1940s

and 1950s (e.g. Ramos et al., 1967), and in contemporary studies demonstrating the disadvantage of using English (and the benefits of using Philippine languages) in establishing basic literacy and learning competencies (e.g. Baguingan, 2000; de Guzman, 1998; Dekker, 1999; Errington, 1999), and

in subject matter learning (e.g. Bernardo, 1999, 2002; Bernardo and Calleja, 2005; Espiritu and Villena, 1996; Reyes, 2000).

The consistent line of empirical research converges with the common intuition in almost all parts of the globe (the Philippines being an exception) that learning and instruction in formal education should be in one's native tongue. The research reveals several interrelated conclusions: (a) students learn better in their mother tongue; (b) students do not learn as well in English and that, in some cases, they do not learn at all; (c) using English as the medium of instruction in some learning areas prevents students from learning as much as they could (compared to mother tongue instruction), and that sometimes specific obstacles to learning are associated with Englishlanguage difficulties; and (d) those who benefit most from education in the English language are those with good levels of proficiency in English to start with and/or those who grow up in environments that abound with English language inputs, materials, and resources.

The cognitive disadvantages brought about by using English in instruction among students with near-zero English-language proficiency and who live in non-English speaking environments converge with the oppressive and marginalizing effect of English on the lives of the poor. The overwhelming majority of Filipino children find their limited proficiency in English a major stumbling block in their efforts to learn in the various domains of knowledge. They are likely to be alienated by a classroom learning environment which requires them to communicate, to know, and to think in English. They are also likely to fail in examinations and writing requirements in English, to perceive much of formal education as irrelevant, and to drop out of school altogether. In contrast, the small proportion of Filipino children who acquire English language proficiency in a privileged milieu have good opportunities to benefit from English language education. They are likely to have a wide array of options available for further education, even in foreign countries. Therefore, the supposed usefulness of English seems to be restricted to this sector of Philippine society.

#### The discourse of 'global competitiveness'

The preceding discourses have been transformed and recast in the most recent moves to intensify the role of English in Philippine education. In its most simple form, the argument for strengthening English language education and for using English as the medium of instruction states that Filipinos will become more competitive in the global labor market if they have high levels of proficiency in English, which would be attained if English is restored as the sole medium of instruction, and all resources (good teachers, textbooks, etc.) needed to support English language education are available. This section examines this discourse in greater detail.

#### The global labor market

Since the 1980s, the Philippine economy has been increasingly dependent on remittances of Filipinos who earn their living in other countries. Overseas Filipino Workers (or OFWs) are actually the lifeline of the Filipino nation as their remittances now account for a significant portion of the country's revenues. In 2003, for example, OFW remittances amounted to over US\$7.6 billion, which was 6.3% higher than in 2002, and which represented about 9% of the country's GNP. In 2004, this figure increased another 11% and totaled US\$8.5 billion. For most jobs available to OFWs, proficiency in English communication is a prerequisite. As more jobs become available in a global economy, it is understandable that government planners are placing greater emphasis on acquiring such language skills.

The globalization of economies and the rise of multinational and transnational companies have also had an effect on the requirements for English language skills even for local employment. At present, the purported English language proficiency of the Filipino worker is supposed to be one of the competitive advantages of the Philippines as a possible investment site for foreign companies. In the past five years, an increasing number of foreign companies have outsourced their customer information service operations to the Philippines, creating a veritable boom industry for 'call centers' mainly because of the relatively good English proficiency of Filipinos. Data from the country's Department of Trade and Industry indicate that the call center industry has generated approximately 40,000 new jobs in the five-year period from 1999 to 2004, making it the biggest employer in the country in terms of growth rate. The most optimistic forecasts for the sector predict 250,000 new jobs for the next five-year period ending in 2009. The main requirement for employment in such call centers is the ability to speak English proficiently, preferably with an American accent.

It is apparent that English language proficiency will allow Filipinos to compete for jobs globally and locally. Advocates of a more intensive role for English in Philippine education propose using English as the medium of instruction so that the English language proficiency of the Filipino workforce will be guaranteed, making Filipinos more globally competitive.

#### Educating the globally-competitive worker

But what does it mean to educate a globally-competitive worker? Bernardo (2007) summarizes some of the most important characteristics of the educational processes that respond to the human resource requirements of a global knowledge society. One of the key characteristics relates to the types of competencies that characterize the globally-competitive worker. What types of competencies should educational systems strive to develop in their students? Is English language proficiency in and of itself sufficient to make a worker globally competitive? The obvious answer to this question is no. Other qualities related to technical knowledge and skills, work-related attitudes and values, among others, are also extremely important qualities of a globally-competitive worker.

Many scholars who have studied the relationship between education and globalization have noted that with the increased and more complex levels of knowledge content in goods traded internationally, educational systems in many countries have had to refocus their attention on higher education and the development of higher level knowledge and skills in order to be more competitive (Carnoy, 1998; Jurich, 2000; Reich, 1992; Salmi, 2000). In higher education, colleges and universities are now being required to train students for high-level technical jobs required in the global economy. Even the basic education sector is increasingly emphasizing the development of higher level thinking skills and more complex values required of effective participation in the global environment.

Moreover, the definition of 'higher' learning has also been transformed. For example, the UNESCO Declaration on Higher Education (1998) states that 'institutions should educate students to become well informed and deeply motivated citizens, who can think critically, analyze problems of society, look for solutions to the problems of society, apply them and accept social responsibilities' (Article 9b). The Declaration also emphasizes thinking skills such as 'independent thinking and team work in multicultural contexts, where creativity also involves combining traditional or local knowledge and knowhow with advanced science and technology'. Salmi (2000) proposes that globally competitive persons must learn how to keep learning for the rest of their life. He refers to the need for these individuals to acquire 'methodological knowledge and skills' related to being able to acquire new knowledge on one's own, involving skills such as being able to source, access, and apply knowledge to a variety of emerging problem situations, and characteristics such as being creative, resourceful, flexible, and adaptable.

#### The language problem in Philippine education

We can now recast the language problem in Philippine education in terms of these requirements of global competitiveness, and it is important to acknowledge there are two distinct (although related) questions that need to be resolved. First, what language(s) should Filipino students be proficient in, in order to be competitive in the global labor market? Second, what language(s) should be used in the teaching and learning experiences of Filipino students so that they acquire the various competencies required to be competitive in the global labor market? The second question refers to a wide range of competencies including language and communication skills, and thus overlaps with the first question. But the discussion in this section will give particular attention to the acquisition of high-level technical knowledge and skills.

#### Language proficiency

Given current global realities, it is hard to argue against the assertion that Filipino students should gain proficiency in English to become more competitive (although very strong arguments are posed from a critical perspective of globalization and a nationalist perspective of education). This language problem in Philippine education relates to the role of Filipino and other Philippine languages in the attainment of English language proficiency. Advocates of a strong English-as-medium-of-instruction policy have proposed that Filipinos will best gain English proficiency if the formal educational system uses English as the exclusive language of instruction for all subjects or learning areas, except for Filipino.

Examining this argument more carefully, we see that it seems to be premised on a monolingual assumption and its underlying fallacies. The monolingual assumption is related to Pennycook's (1994) observation of the 'belief in monolingualism as the norm' (135, 168) and underlies a number of related postulates: the monolingual fallacy, the code-separation position, the maximum exposure fallacy, and the subtractive fallacy. Phillipson (1992) defined the monolingual fallacy as the presupposition that English as a foreign language is best taught monolingually. He argued that this assertion is a fallacy by noting how the monolingual presupposition in teaching English as a second language fails to consider the powerful linguistic experiences of students in other languages, and thus, also fails to take advantage of a very rich scaffolding for second language learning. Phillipson further traces this fallacy to a fundamental distrust of bilingualism, as scholars like Hakuta (1986) and Skutnabb-Kangas (1981) have noted how monolingual Western cultures are largely ignorant of bilingual and multilingual cultures and hold negative stereotypes about such cultures. Moreover, Lo Bianco (2000) and Phillipson (1992) have observed that in various multicultural contexts (e.g. colonial states and migrant communities), the dominant monolingual cultures attempt to inhibit bilingualism or multilingualism by enforcing monolingual language policies.

The second postulate of the monolingual assumption in the Philippine context involves the presumption that the two languages of the bilingual should be kept separate. This presumption refers to the need to preserve language purity and to avoid language-mixing, especially in the educational context. Bernardo (2007) refers to this as the code-separation postulate and it is exemplified in the Bilingual Education Policy, where English is mandated as the sole medium of instruction for English, science, and mathematics, and Filipino is the sole medium of instruction for all other subjects. As Sibayan (1985) noted, 'it was thought that languages would be kept as separate codes' (110). The objection to language-mixing is based on the supposed ideal type of bilingualism, which involves language switching according to appropriate changes in the speech situation. The ideal seems to be a person who is two monolinguals in one, an idea that has been critiqued by Grosjean (1992).

The third fallacy is related to the notion that as far as language learning is concerned, more is better, which Phillipson (1992) referred to as the maximum exposure fallacy. Dividing the students' and teachers' learning and instructional resources over two or three languages would presumably result in ineffective and poor language learning. Thus a more sustained and extensive education using English is supposed to develop better English language skills in students. A number of scholars, including Hakuta (1986), have also noted fears that allowing the use of more than one language in the important language domains will result in the decline of one or more of the languages. Such fears seem to be held by some Filipinos, e.g. that the use of Filipino in schools will be to the detriment of English, and vice versa. Phillipson (1992) refers to this assumption as the subtractive fallacy and has pointed to several studies that indicate the fallacious elements of this assumption both at the level of the individual and of the language community.

The implication of the monolingual assumption and the concomitant fallacies is that, according to Phillipson (1992), the dominant English-as-asecond-language pedagogy has tended to ignore the pedagogical value of using the native language for English language learning. Sibayan (1985) raised a very interesting historical footnote when he reported that the former Director of the Surian ng Wikang Pambansa (Institute of National Language), P. B. Pineda, had encouraged the mixing of English and Filipino as it has contributed toward the growth and intellectualization of Filipino. Pineda's opinion suggests that there are possible benefits to language-mixing but such conjectures have never been pursued and studied in any systematic way. In an independent and consistent thread of inquiry, Bautista has described the

linguistic structure and pragmatic functions of Filipino-English code-switching (1991, 1995, 1998, 1999, 2004). Her studies strongly indicate that Filipino-English code-switching has a stable linguistic structure, yet few scholars have investigated the prospect of using code-switching as a medium for learning and teaching for bilingual and multilingual students and teachers who codeswitch all the time (see Martin, 2006). More recently, Bernardo (2005a) has argued for the possible use of code-switching as a resource for attaining the educational and learning objectives for Filipino bilingual and multilingual students.

Thus, although there seems to be a clear imperative to develop the English language proficiency of Filipino students in order to be competitive for local and international jobs, this imperative does not necessarily require that Filipino and other Philippine languages should be sidelined in the process. Intuitive as it may seem, there is actually no scientific basis for saying that using English as a medium of instruction is the best means of creating students with good English language skills. Indeed, there is strong evidence in the scholarly literature to suggest that the native language(s) of students may be effectively used as scaffolding for developing good English language proficiency in many multilingual settings.

Such proposals warrant more serious consideration, if we take into account how English is actually taught and used in the classrooms today. Vilches (2000) undertook an investigation of how English is taught in representative Philippine schools. She conducted classroom observations, interviews with teachers, analysis of English textbooks and lessons plans, among others. The results indicated that teachers' questions and classroom discussion tended to be at the lowest levels of comprehension. Teachers rarely employed teaching methodologies that evoked higher and more critical thinking skills among the students. Vilches also reported that the classroom activities were teacherdominated and students had rather low levels of activity and involvement. Moreover, teachers tended to rely on traditional presentation/practice structure in teaching language rules, and demanded mostly mechanical repetition and memorization from the students. It seems that the way English is being taught in schools does not allow students to be proficient in the use of English to communicate and engage ideas in a more intelligent level.

#### Language for learning technical knowledge and skills

Let us then consider how the use of English may contribute to the learning of technical knowledge and skills other than English communication skills. There are at least four possible positions regarding the relationship between language and the acquisition and performance of technical knowledge and skills (Bernardo, 2000). First, it could be posited that there is a null relationship between language and the learning and performance of technical knowledge. It could be argued that technical knowledge is actually abstract and thus unaffected by contextual factors such as language. Indeed, there are those who have argued that abstract knowledge in the technical fields is expressed in a non-linguistic representational scheme, which is the symbolic and mathematical 'language'. Second, it could be asserted that there is a languageproficiency effect. That is, technical knowledge and skills are best acquired if the medium is a language in which the student is highly proficient. Such assertions are founded on the notion that learning in most domains involves the construction of understanding, which is less likely to succeed when the learner is unable to comprehend the material that should be understood. Third, we could posit a language-of-learning effect, which implies that performance of technical knowledge and skills is best in the language used to teach and learn it. Thus, the critical factor is the consistency in language use in the acquisition and application phases of learning. Finally, there could be a structural-fit effect. That is, certain languages might be structurally more appropriate for representing and processing the content and operations in the technical fields. For example, there are some people who argue that English is the language of math and science, and thus, English should be used to teach these subjects.

In current Philippine educational discourse, there seems to be some tendency to assume a structural fit between English and the technical domains of knowledge. This assumption is manifested in the Bilingual Education Policy, which specifies that English be used in such subjects, and seems to be based on the notion that knowledge in these domains is best accessed and processed in the English language. The assumption provides one of the premises for the proposals to mandate the use of English as the medium of instruction to make Filipinos more competitive in the global knowledge society. In this section, these assumptions are carefully examined in light of empirical evidence related to the role of language in acquiring mathematical knowledge and skills.

Recent research on mathematics learning among Filipino bilingual students reveals some evidence for a null relationship between language and some aspects of mathematical learning and performance. For example, when looking at students who have more extensive experience in the mathematical domain, we do not find any effects of using either English or Filipino in the students' ability to comprehend and solve word problems (Bernardo, 1999). These results were attributed to the students' acquisition of problem schemas in the domain. Problem schemas are abstract mental representations of the core structure of the word problems that allow problem solvers to model and solve the word problems in ways that are largely unaffected by the superficial (e.g. linguistic) features of the problems.

Bernardo (1996) also found no effects of using English or Filipino in students' interpretation of subtechnical terms like 'more' and 'less' in specialized ways that are specific to the mathematics problem-solving context.

Bernardo and Calleja (2005) also found that the language of the problem did not affect the tendency to ignore real life considerations in modeling word problems in mathematics. These results can also be explained by the use of abstract problem schemas. Reyes (2000) studied students solving statistics problems and found that testing the students in their L1 facilitated the access and use of conceptual knowledge; however, the benefits of L1 were not found when students had to access computational knowledge. Bernardo's (1998) studies on analogical problem solving among Filipino-English bilinguals showed that overall analogical transfer was better when the language of the source and target problems was the same. But his results also suggest that this language-compatibility effect seems to reside mainly in the process of retrieving the source problem. The results also suggest that language makes no difference in the actual process of applying the source information to the target problem. Bernardo (2005b) also revealed no effects of language in the important process of modeling the problem structure of word problems. The above results show that language factors do not seem to affect the more mathematically abstract components of word problem solving (e.g. application of abstract schematized problem concepts and procedures).

But the evidence for the null relationship seems to be found only with these more abstract aspects of mathematical learning and performance. The research indicates a rather robust set of findings consistent with a languageproficiency effect. For example, Bernardo (1999) found that Filipino-English bilingual students were better at solving typical math word problems when these problems were written in their L1 (Filipino) compared to in their L2 (English). Error analysis suggested that the LI advantage was due to better comprehension of the problem text. Bernardo (2002) used a recall paradigm to more directly test Filipino-English bilingual students' comprehension of word problems in Filipino and English. The results showed that students were better able to understand and solve the problems in their L1 and had more difficulties comprehending the same problems in their L2 (see also Bernardo and Calleja, 2004). These findings suggest that some difficulties that students have in relation to understanding word problems might be intensified in the case of bilingual students who have to solve word problems written in their

So is there sufficient basis for assuming that English is a better structuralfit language for learning mathematics? The results of various studies done with Filipino bilinguals indicate that there is no such basis. A review of the international research literature indicates a structural fit between language and learning in mathematics. However, the research studies indicate a good fit between characteristics of the Chinese, Korean, and Japanese lexicon; the same research actually suggests that in some ways English may contribute to some difficulties in learning basic mathematical concepts and operations (Fuson and Kwon, 1991; Miller and Stigler, 1987; Miura, 1987; Miura, King, Chang and Okamoto, 1988). It seems more research needs to be done before an unequivocal answer can be provided to the question of whether English is a better language for learning mathematics and technical subjects.

Given the higher technical demands of today's global labor market, the globally-competitive Filipino needs to acquire high-level technical skills together with English language skills. The argument that Philippine schools will be more successful in producing such Filipinos by using English as the medium of instruction seems to be based on untenable, inappropriate, and/ or unverified assumptions. Indeed, it seems that the argument can only make sense if the most naïve and simplistic assumptions are made about what language is, what learning involves, what competencies should be acquired, and how language relates to the learning of bilingual and multilingual learners.

#### Conclusion

In an earlier exposition on the role of English in Philippine education, Bernardo (2004) noted that the status of English in Philippine education had undergone a significant transformation over a century. In its most recent history, English in Philippine education has gotten a very strong boost from discourse explicitly linking the English language to the competitiveness of Filipinos in the global labor market. In this paper, the limitations of such a discourse have been indicated. These limitations notwithstanding, the forces of globalization seem to underscore the need to better understand the importance of English in Philippine education. The intricate realities of globalization cannot be addressed by simple-minded prescriptions of the use of English in Philippine schools. The manner by which English might be used as a potent resource for the education of Filipinos will need to be grounded in a sound and sophisticated understanding of the bilingual/multilingual experience of Filipinos, the complex network of competencies that Filipinos need to learn in schools, the relationship between languages used in learning and instruction, and the present constraints of the structures and processes of Philippine education. As a comprehensive understanding of these phenomena is not likely to yield straightforward prescriptions, Filipino educators will have to be exceptionally creative in finding ways to ensure that English becomes a positive resource in the education of Filipinos.

The long history of English in Philippine education has shown the remarkable resilience of English as a feature of the Philippine educational system. It is not unreasonable to predict that English will persist in some form or another in Philippine schools for many more years. But whether English will be part of the problem in Philippine education or part of the solution depends on how educational decision-makers and stakeholders construct and reconstruct the roles of English in Philippine schools.

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## English-language media in the Philippines: Description and research

Danilo T. Dayag

#### Introduction

In an earlier paper, Dayag (2004a) described the state of the English-language media in the Philippines, profiling both broadcast and print media in terms of circulation figures and readership (based on 2000 data). On the basis of these data, it went on to survey linguistic studies of the Philippine media, and to chart directions for future research in this area. This present chapter provides an updated profile of the English-language media in the Philippines, focusing on both broadcast (television and radio) and print (newspapers and magazines) media. It also assesses the role that the media have played in the development of the Philippine English lexicon, before surveying current research trends in this field.

## A profile of the English-language media in the Philippines

This section presents a profile of the English-language media in the Philippines, largely based on data from 4A's Media Factbook (2004). Englishlanguage media in the Philippines include such broadcast media as television and radio and the print media of newspapers and magazines.

#### Television

Table 3.1 shows data on the technical reach of TV networks in both Mega Manila and the entire Philippines. The list is topped by two giant private networks, ABS-CBN and GMA-7. In Mega Manila, the two networks are followed by ABC-5, another private company, and RPN-9, IBC-13, and NBN, which are government-owned firms (Dayag 2004a: 36). Studio 23, owned by ABS-CBN, and ZOE, a religious TV company, round up the list. A different ranking emerges in the whole country in that while ABS-CBN still leads in terms of technical reach, GMA-7 is far behind by just under 20%, followed by RPN-9, NBN, IBC-13, which rank third, fourth, and fifth, respectively. ABC-5 and Studio 23 complete the list.

Table 3.1 TV technical reach

| TV network           | Mega Manila | Total Philippines |  |
|----------------------|-------------|-------------------|--|
| ABS-CBN Ch 2         | 99%         | 97%               |  |
| GMA-7                | 99%         | 78%               |  |
| ABC-5                | 97%         | 57%               |  |
| RPN-9                | 97%         | 70%               |  |
| IBC-13               | 97%         | 67%               |  |
| NBN (formerly PTV 4) | 94%         | 69%               |  |
| Studio 23            | 83%         | 35%               |  |
| ZOE                  | 84%         | Not available     |  |

(Source: 4A's Media Factbook, 2004: 35)

As indicated in Table 3.2, however, most residents of Mega Manila watch ABS-CBN shows during prime time (from 6:00 to 10:00 p.m.). This is in contrast to the audience share during prime day when GMA-7 lords over it. As during prime day, both networks account for roughly 75% audience share during prime time, thus underscoring the intense rivalry between the two broadcast companies. The remaining 25% is shared by at least five other local channels and cable TV.

Table 3.2 Channel audience share (prime time) in Mega Manila

| 2002  | 2003*  |
|-------|--|
| 43.8% | 43.8%  |
| 32.2% | 28.8%  |
| 2.4%  | 2.0%   |
| 1.3%  | 1.7%   |
| 7.2%  | 4.4%   |
| 1.0%  | 1.5%   |
| 1.8%  | 3.1%   |
| 5.1%  | 9.2%   |
| 4.3%  | 4.1%   |
|       | 43.8%<br>32.2%<br>2.4%<br>1.3%<br>7.2%<br>1.0%<br>1.8%<br>5.1% |

(Source: 4A's Media Factbook, 2004: 41)

It is worth noting that, with the exception perhaps of a few late-night news programs (for example the ones aired on Studio 23 and RPN-9), almost all shows on local TV are in Filipino or in Taglish, the code-switching variety of Philippine English. Presumably, TV networks have resorted to this format to gain mass appeal (Dayag, 2004a: 40).

In terms of cable TV ownership, as shown in Table 3.3, around one fourth of the urban population subscribes to cable TV, whereas more than one third of the Metro Manila households are cable TV owners. It is interesting to note that as in the previous study (Dayag, 2004a), almost all programs on cable TV are in English or in foreign languages.

Table 3.3 Number of cable TV owners

| Coverage           | With cable | Without cable |
|--------------------|------------|---------------|
| Urban Philippines* | 26%        | 74%           |
| Metro Manila**     | 36%        | 64%           |
| TOTAL              | 100%       | 100%          |

(Source: 4A's Media Factbook, 2004: 42)

It should be noted that cable service providers in Metro Manila include Sky Cable, Home Cable, Sun Cable (all three are owned by Beyond Cable Holdings, Inc.), Destiny Cable, Dream Broadcasting (DTH), Global Cable, Las Piñas Cable, and Parañaque Cable). In addition, cable channels accepting local ad placements are AXN, Nickelodeon, Cartoon Network, CNN, Discovery Channel, and National Geographic/Animal Planet (4A's Media Factbook, 2004). This notwithstanding, the programs on cable TV are predominantly in English or in foreign languages (e.g. Chinese, Japanese, Korean, etc.). As English is a second language in the Philippines, presumably, it is English-language programs that are watched by Filipino subscribers to cable TV (Dayag, 2004a: 40).

#### Radio

Data show that in terms of radio ownership, 82% of the entire Philippine population owns a radio (with a base of 5.8 million households), while radio ownership in the National Capital Region (Metro Manila) is 90% (with a base of 2.1 million households). Listenership is pegged at 78% in urban Philippines and 80% in Metro Manila. In addition, AM is still the dominant format nationwide, but Metro Manila has at least 70% FM listenership vs. AM's 30%. Representative regional key provincial areas also have higher FM than AM listenership — an average of 60% vs. AM's 40% for both Visayas and Mindanao (4A's Media Factbook, 2004: 50). Table 3.4 summarizes data on the number of radio stations by region.

<sup>\*</sup>Data were taken from January to September 2003 only.

<sup>\*</sup>Base: 13.1 million TV homes

<sup>\*\*</sup>Base: 2.2 million TV homes

Table 3.4 Number of radio stations by region

| Region                   | AM  | FM  | TOTAL |
|--------------------------|-----|-----|-------|
| National Capital Region  | 25  | 25  | 50    |
| Ilocos Region            | 38  | 41  | 79    |
| Cagayan Valley Region    | 14  | 19  | 33    |
| Central Luzon Region     | 9   | 10  | 19    |
| Southern Tagalog Region  | 20  | 39  | 59    |
| Bicol Region             | 26  | 36  | 62    |
| Western Visayas Region   | 29  | 44  | 73    |
| Central Visayas Region   | 23  | 38  | 61    |
| Eastern Visayas Region   | 14  | 17  | 31    |
| Western Mindanao Region  | 18  | 26  | 44    |
| Northern Mindanao Region | 27  | 38  | 65    |
| Southern Mindanao Region | 35  | 55  | 90    |
| Central Mindanao Region  | 11  | 18  | 29    |
| Total                    | 289 | 406 | 695   |

(Source: 4A's Media Factbook, 2004: 53)

A number of trends can be detected in Table 3.4. First, except for the National Capital Region (Metro Manila), where there are an equal number of AM and FM stations, in all other regions FM stations outnumber AM stations. This reflects the pattern nationwide, in which there are 117 more FM stations than AM stations. Comparing the above data with those in 2000 (as reported in Dayag, 2004a: 40), the number of AM stations increased by 16, while that of FM stations by 140. The total number of ratio stations nationwide increased by 156, i.e. from 539 in 2000 to 695 in 2004.

Worth noting is the fact that the predominant language of programs aired on Philippine radio is Filipino, or at least Taglish (the code-switching variety of Philippine English). There seems to be nothing new in the case of stations on the AM band, which have always used Filipino (for those in Metro Manila and neighboring provinces) and the regional language (for those in other areas) as the medium. However, recent years have seen a dramatic shift in the format of FM stations. Casual observation, for instance, reveals that programs aired on many radio stations on the FM band (e.g. DWLS run by GMA-7 and DWRR of ABS-CBN) have shifted to Filipino or Taglish from a predominantly English-language format up until the early 1990s. This is with the exception of FM stations that play classical and jazz music — and there are a few of them — which have maintained their English format. Perhaps the shift to Filipino may be attributed to the desire of radio stations, like TV stations, to gain mass appeal, English being generally perceived as the language of the educated and the elite.

#### Newspapers

According to 4A's Media Factbook (2004: 76), broadsheet readership is as follows: 22% in Metro Manila and 11% in Urban Philippines. The newspaper sections with a high level of readership in Metro Manila/Urban Philippines are as follows: front page (48%/22%), local news (36%/16%), entertainment/ comics section (27%/12%), and sports (26%/12%) (4A's Media Factbook, 2004: 76). Table 3.5 shows the top three broadsheets in terms of nationwide readership.

Table 3.5 Top three newspapers in terms of nationwide readership

| Broadsheets               | % Readership |  |
|---------------------------|--------------|--|
| Philippine Daily Inquirer | 5.7%         |  |
| Manila Bulletin           | 5.5%         |  |
| Philippine Star           | 2.6%         |  |
| Tabloids                  | % Readership |  |
| Abante                    | 4.5%         |  |
| People's Journal          | 2.4%         |  |
| People's Tonite           | 2.2%         |  |

(Source: 4A's Media Factbook, 2004: 77)

As Table 3.5 indicates, the most widely read newspapers of general circulation in the Philippines are Philippine Daily Inquirer, Manila Bulletin, and Philippine Star, all English-language broadsheets. This is consistent with the 2000 data (Dayag, 2004a: 37). On the other hand, the top three tabloids in terms of nationwide readership are Abante, People's Journal, and People's Tonite. Of the three, only People's Journal is in English; the other two are in Filipino, as are other tabloids. That tabloids are predominantly in Filipino may be explained by the need to have mass appeal since they cater to the lower socioeconomic classes, in contrast to the broadsheets, which target the upper-, middle- and the lower-middle class.

Total circulation figures for all English-language broadsheets are reported in Table 3.6. Like the data for readership, the first three spots based on circulation figures are occupied by Philippine Daily Inquirer, Manila Bulletin, and Philippine Star. It may be interesting to note, however, that while these were the same top three newspapers in 2000 (Dayag, 2004a: 38), their individual ranks have changed. In the 2000 data, Philippine Daily Inquirer occupied the top spot, having registered the highest number of copies sold, followed by Philippine Star and Manila Bulletin. By contrast, the 2004 data (as indicated in Table 3.6) show that Bulletin is first, followed by Star, Inquirer, The Manila Times, and Today (Today and Manila Standard merged in March 2005 to become Manila Standard Today.)

Table 3.6 Total circulation figures for English newspapers

| Publication               | Frequency | Total Circulation |
|---------------------------|-----------|-------------------|
| Manila Bulletin           | Daily     | 280,000           |
| Philippine Daily Inquirer | Daily     | 257,416           |
| Philippine Star           | Daily     | 271,687           |
| Business World            | MonFri.   | 65,000            |
| The Manila Times          | Daily     | 180,446           |
| Today                     | Daily     | 152,268           |
| Manila Standard           | Daily     | 134,583           |
| Malaya                    | Daily     | 150,000           |
| Daily Tribune             | Daily     | 130,000           |
| Manila Meteor             | MonŚat.   | 160,000           |

(Source: 4A's Media Factbook, 2004: 83)

#### Magazines

English-language magazines are equally popular among Filipino readers. First, they enjoy a high 'pass along' readership and their content format targets various groups in Philippine society: women, men, sports, lifestyle, etc. Surveys have also shown that the magazines are popular across socio-economic classes. For instance, in Metro Manila alone, the readership of local magazines among Classes AB, C1, and C2 is 13.6%, 8.9%, 11.2%, respectively. In Urban Philippines readership is 8.3% (4A's Media Factbook, 2004: 80).

Table 3.7 shows the total circulation figures claimed for English-language magazines. As the table shows, general interest magazines top the list, followed by music, fan/entertainment, family/home/parenting/health, and lifestyle/ fashion magazines. Magazines that fall under the general interest category are Sunday supplements like Sunday Inquirer, Panorama, Starweek, female-oriented magazines such as Women's Journal and Woman Today, and eighteen other titles. With the exception of Pilipino Star Ngayon, all magazines in this category are in English (4A's Media Factbook, 2004: 87).

Titles of music magazines include MTV Ink, Popsicle, and Pulp, which are all in English. Except for song hits magazines, which are predominantly Tagalog, all music magazines use English (4A's Media Factbook, 2004: 90). Under the fan/entertainment category are Intrigue, Movie Flash, Movie Star, etc., while family/home/parenting/health magazines include Family Today, Health and Spirit Magazine, and Health News. Lifestyle/fashion magazines include titles such as Working Woman, Diva, and Metro. English is the language in all these magazines (4A's Media Factbook, 2004: 86–9).

In summary, it is safe to say that, except for cable TV, Philippine broadcast media (TV and radio) typically use Filipino as their medium. Print media (newspapers and magazines), however, are predominantly in English.

Table 3.7 Total circulation figures for English magazines

| Type of magazine             | Frequency                | Claimed circulation |
|------------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------|
| General interest             | Weekly                   | 2,752,979           |
| Lifestyle/fashion            | Monthly/Bi-monthly       | 872,030             |
| Fan/entertainment            | Weekly                   | 1,190,500           |
| Family/home/parenting/health | Monthly/Quarterly/Annual | 959,950             |
| Business                     | Monthly/Bi-monthly       | 305,934             |
| Sports                       | Bi-/monthly/quarterly    | 621,774             |
| Child-oriented               | Monthly                  | 274,800             |
| Teen-oriented                | Bi-/monthly              | 772,758             |
| Program guide/schedule       | Monthly                  | 193,645             |
| Information Technology       | Weekly/monthly/annual    | 162,100             |
| Food/recipe                  | Monthly                  | 304,398             |
| Music                        | Bi-/monthly              | 1,509,966           |
| Others                       | Bi-/monthly/quarterly    | 380,000             |
| Total                        |                          | 10,300,834          |

(Source: 4A's Media Factbook, 2004: 86-91)

## Philippine media and the Philippine English lexicon

It is widely acknowledged that along with creative literature (fiction and nonfiction), the Philippine media are a rich source of words and expressions, especially those of contemporary usage, that have become part of the Philippine English lexicon. This seems to have been affirmed by Bolton (2005: 101), who argues that 'perhaps the most important source for the contemporary language ... particularly at a less formal level, is the Philippine English newspapers [or Philippine media, in general], whose distinctive style of journalism rests not only on the creative utilization of local vocabulary, but on a range of other resources as well'. It is this issue that I now turn to.

In her paper, Bautista (1997) presents lexical items culled from the Macquarie corpus of Asian English (ASIACORP) in her attempt to describe the lexicon of Philippine English. These include the following: (1) words with expanded meanings such as bets ('candidates'), tong ('extortion money'), motel ('a hotel used for illicit sex'), salvage (to kill in cold blood'), and fiscalize ('to call attention to abuse'); (2) lexical items which have become infrequent or lost in other varieties, such as city folk, barrio folk, and solon ('legislator or lawmaker'); (3) coinages like jubilarian, reelectionist, holdupper, carnapper, studentry, Amboy ('a Filipino perceived to be too pro-American'), Taglish ('Tagalog-English code-switching variety'), trapo ('traditional politician'), green joke ('obscene joke'), behest loan ('unguaranteed bank loan given to presidential cronies'), colonial mentality ('thinking or behavior that shows subservience to the West'), batchmate, office mate, provincemate, bakya crowd ('crowd from the lower socio-economic classes'); and (4) borrowings such as balikbayan ('a

Filipino who has returned to the Philippines after years of working or living abroad'), pasalubong ('a gift or present'), and despedida ('a farewell party').

A close examination of the citations of the above lexical entries reveals that most of these words and expressions were taken from news stories and columns in English-language newspapers in the Philippines. This suggests the potency of the Philippine media, especially print media, as an instrument in the development of the Philippine English lexicon. And while the ASIACORP used data more than a decade ago, the evolution of the lexicon of Philippine English is a continuing process. Consider, for instance, the following extracts from editorials in leading newspapers in recent years:

> In her 2001 SONA [State of the Nation Address], for instance, the President used the letters of children from Payatas, the Quezon City district that hosts the notorious dump, to sum up a four-point government program: jobs, education, housing and food on every table. (Philippine Daily Inquirer, July 25, 2004)

> This is not to say that henceforth the safety of every OFW [Overseas Filipino Worker] is guaranteed. (Philippine Daily Inquirer, July 21, 2004)

> For now the government's peace negotiations with the MILF [Moro Islamic Liberation Front] are on track. (Philippine Star, September 29, 2004)

> The PNP [Philippine National Police] and other concerned agencies should draw up regulations governing the safekeeping of evidence, especially luxury vehicles that police officers may be tempted to borrow. (Philippine Star, October 13, 2004)

Acronyms such as SONA, OFW, MILF, and PNP are examples of what Bautista (1997) calls 'coinages', and they abound in Philippine English. Perhaps this indicates lexical creativity and innovation in Philippine English, and the fact that they appear in the print media underscores the media's invaluable contribution to the development of the Philippine English lexicon. This is made more meaningful if one considers the ubiquity of indigenous or Filipino-based words and expressions in the media, such as the ones that appear in the following front-page newspaper headlines dealing with a kidnapped OFW in Iraq:

> Angelo loved movies of FPJ and Erap (The Manila Times, July 13, 2004) Tata lost so much weight, we'll cook crispy pata (Philippine Daily Inquirer, July 21,2004)

Mass, lechon kawali await Angelo at home (Philippine Star, July 17, 2004) Spider-Man, Volta entertain Angelo's kids (Philippine Star, July 21, 2004)

The first headline uses the names of popular movie actors-turnedpoliticians, such as the late presidential candidate FPI (Fernando Poe [r.) and former president Erap (pare "buddy" read backwards, referring to Joseph Ejercito Estrada). The second uses Tata, a term of address for father, and crispy pata, a native delicacy; the third has lechon kawali, another native dish. Volta is a popular Tagalog movie that was shown in the Philippines. Headlines and news stories using Filipino vocabulary provide local color to the print media.

Many of these words that appear in English-language newspapers and magazines in the Philippines have entered dictionaries and even corpora, a crucial step in the process of codifying Philippine English, making it an institutionalized and legitimate variety of world Englishes, if one goes by the criterion set by Quirk (1990) (cited in Bolton and Butler 2004: 92). One such dictionary is the Webster's Third New International Dictionary, which contains a fairly large number of Philippine English words. This dictionary, however, fails to capture Philippine English vocabulary used in this contemporary era because, as Bolton and Butler (2004: 98) put it, 'the vocabulary ... represents an archaic and petrified version of Philippine vocabulary, dating from the 1910s and 1920s'. Indeed, perhaps with the exception of Filipinos who belong to the older generation, lexical items such as cabeza (a headman), cacique (a powerful landowner), fillipeen (variant of 'Philippine'), and gugu (a derogatory term for a native of the Philippines) are no longer part of the lexicon of the average Filipino. Another observation that can be made about the list of Philippine words in the Webster's dictionary is that most of them have Philippine flora (e.g. anahau, anonang, dao, salak) and fauna (e.g. kabaragoya, maya, murral), and cultural communities (e.g. Yakan, Kulaman, Hantik, Bangon) as referents, and that, unless Filipinos live in places where these plants and animals exist or unless they have encountered members of communities, Filipinos can hardly relate to them because they are simply not part of their reality. It goes without saying, therefore, that the Webster's dictionary may not be a reliable dictionary, given that its Philippine English entries are not only dated, 'but also totally inadequate to capture the vibrant creativity of a hybrid and irreverent tropical English in full flight' (Bolton and Butler, 2004: 99).

Happily, a corpus and a dictionary were evolved in the early years of the twenty-first century. The corpus, titled the Asian Corpus of Computerized English Newspaper Texts (the ACCENT Corpus), developed in Hong Kong, aims 'to investigate the English-language press in Asia' (Bolton and Butler, 2004: 99). Lexical items from Philippine English newspapers include ambush interview ('a surprise interview'), economic plunder ('a large-scale embezzlement of public funds'), and topnotcher ('high achiever'). These and other words from the newspapers included in the ACCENT database attest to the lexical creativity and innovation that may underline the 'Filipino-ness' of Philippine English. By the same token, the Anvil-Macquarie Dictionary of Philippine English for High

School (Bautista and Butler, 2000), which lists words taken presumably from written texts such as newspapers and magazines, is regarded as a truly Filipino dictionary in that it 'has consciously attempted to adopt an explicitly Pinoy (i.e. 'Filipino') perspective' (Bolton and Butler 2004: 93). The authenticity of the dictionary may be gleaned from lexical entries such as balut ('a boiled duck egg'), blow-out ('a treat'); comfort room ('a room equipped with toilet, washing facilities, etc.'), despedida ('a farewell party'), holdupper ('someone who commits a hold-up or robbery'), lechon ('a whole roasted suckling pig'), lumpia ('spring roll'), utang na loob ('debt of gratitude'), and viand ('a dish') (Bolton and Butler, 2004: 100-2). It is the ACCENT Corpus and the Anvil-Macquarie Dictionary that reflect Philippine culture, making Philippine English a truly indigenized variety of world Englishes. And while they may have been instrumental in codifying this institutionalized English variety, more attempts should be made by scholars to publish national dictionaries that are authentic, adequate, and current. After all, languages evolve, and as such, dictionarymaking is a dynamic process.

# Linguistic research and the Philippine media

For many years now, Philippine media (especially the English-language media) have been the subject of many studies. In this section, I first discuss these studies that have been conducted and then present the future directions that research on the Philippine media may take (see also Dayag, 2004a).

Two strands characterize linguistic research that has been conducted on the Philippine media: (1) research using data from the Philippine media in attempts to describe Philippine English (PE) at the phonological, syntactic, and discourse levels, and (2) research describing discursive practices and strategies across genres of Philippine media. Those in the first strand include studies done by Alberca (1978) and Gonzalez (1985), accounting for the phonological features of PE, based on data from Philippine radio and television. Those two major studies and others (e.g. Aquino et al., 1966; Llamzon, 1969, 1997; Tayao, 2004) yielded an inventory of sound features ascribed to PE phonology, contributing to a generally accepted account of PE. Some studies have also been conducted to describe the grammatical properties of PE, with data coming from written media texts (i.e. newspapers and magazines). These include Alberca (1978), Gonzalez (1985), and Bautista (2000). An overview of such features is provided in Bautista (2000), to wit: lack of subject-verb agreement, especially in the presence of an intervening prepositional phrase or expression; faulty article usage, e.g. a missing article with majority; faulty preposition usage, e.g. result to, based from, cope up with; faulty noun usage including pluralization of mass nouns; lack of agreement between pronoun and antecedent; and faulty tense-aspect usage.

At the discourse level, PE has likewise been described based on data from Philippine media. Foremost of these studies is that by Gonzalez (1985), who describes three styles: formal, informal, and familiar. The formal style has complex sentences showing nominalization, relativization, and complementation, whereas the informal style uses short and simple sentences and ellipses; the familiar style utilizes code-switching between a familiar style in Tagalog and a more formal style in English. The typical Filipino writer was found to be 'monostylistic' in English, having fullest control over the classroom composition style (Gonzalez, 1985: 4).

In recent years, investigations have been made of the discursive practices and strategies in the Philippine media — the second strand of research in this area. For example, newspaper editorials of general circulation in the Philippines have been analyzed in terms of illocutionary acts, structure of argumentation (Dayag, 2000), and macrostructure and its lexico-grammatical realization (Dayag, 1997, 2000, 2002, 2004b). The same genre has been used to examine how the pragmatic phenomenon of evaluation is negotiated in argumentative texts (Dayag, 2004c). Another genre of media discourse that has been the subject of previous studies is print advertisements from different perspectives. In Dayag (1999), for instance, print advertisements that appeared in Philippine English newspapers were analyzed in terms of macrostructure and macro-speech act and lexico-grammatical features that realize persuasion in the advertisements. On the basis of the findings, a pragmatic model was proposed that highlighted the interplay between text and context, while other studies by Dayag have described persuasion in Philippine print advertisements, and code switching in print advertisements (Dayag, 2001, 2002).

On the other hand, Dayag (2005) described the occurrence of epistemic modality and concessive clauses in newspaper editorials in Philippine English. In particular, the study aimed to: (1) reanalyze the generic or global structure of newspaper editorials included in the corpus; (2) identify the types of epistemic modals that frequently occur in Philippine English newspaper editorials and describe their discourse position vis-à-vis the texts' generic structure; and (3) identify markers of concession in the editorials and describe the discourse position of concessive clauses vis-à-vis the texts' global structure. Data consisted of thirty editorials each from two leading newspapers in the Philippines, namely, Philippine Daily Inquirer and Philippine Star. The study found a number of tendencies of Philippine English editorials. First, the editorials tend to adopt the Claim-Counterclaim structure consisting of three obligatory moves, namely, Establishing a Common Ground, Making a Claim, and Issuing a Counterclaim. Second, epistemic modals have been found to be ubiquitous signals of making a claim and issuing a counterclaim in newspaper editorials. Third, concessive clauses are used frequently by newspaper editorials to make a claim or issue a counterclaim.

Philippine media discourse has likewise been the subject of recent studies from a contrastive rhetoric perspective. Several studies have compared the rhetorical patterns of varieties of English. One such study is Genuino (2002), which examined the interplay between language and culture based on the cohesive devices employed by the writer in three speech communities: Singapore, the Philippines, and the United States. Specifically, it sought to answer the following: (1) What cohesive devices are commonly employed by the three speech communities in written discourse? (2) What prevail as the norms of written discourse in these speech communities in terms of cohesive device use? (3) At what points are the norms in these speech communities parallel/contrasting? and (4) What cultural features are revealed by the prevailing norms? The data analyzed consist of thrity articles selected from Views/Comments/Analysis/Opinions section of the Straits Times (Singapore), Philippine Daily Inquirer (Philippines), and The International Herald Tribune (US), published in July-August 2002. Frequency and percentage counts were employed to determine the patterns. Results revealed that the rhetorical pattern of the three speech communities in the genre examined was built on adversative relations. Further, cohesive devices occupied three positions in discourse: within the sentence, between sentences, and between paragraphs. Structural and semantic relations were also identified. Finally, the three speech communities were found to be analytic rather than accumulative, individualist rather than collectivist.

Gustilo (2002) analyzed American and Philippine English news leads. This study of one week's news leads of six leading American and Philippine newspapers' online publications showed that there was no significant difference in the number of words used between the two Englishes. Moreover, both samples demonstrated a similar preference for a summary lead with 'who', 'what', and 'when' as the most frequently used elements and 'who' as the heavily used starting element. The recurrent patterns of similarities might be attributed to the tendency of Philippine writers to adhere to the expectations of international journalism as propagated by European and American influence in the Philippine educational system.

Gonzales' (2002) study attempted to examine the differences in politeness strategies in three different cultures using Brown and Levinson's (1987) model. It investigated cross-cultural differences in politeness strategies employed in writing letters to the editor in Philippine, Singaporean, and American English. A total of forty-five letters to the editor from leading newspapers published in seven days were analyzed in terms of organizational patterns, politeness markers, and cultural influence. 'Discourse bloc' was used as a method of identifying the organization patterns and politeness strategies and markers in each of the forty-five letters. Results showed distinct types of 'politeness phenomena' in contrastive rhetoric. This study hoped to reveal the significance in applying politeness theory not only to spoken interaction but also to written interaction.

Two recent studies have been conducted on letters of complaint to editors in Philippine English and Singaporean English published in *Philippine Daily* Inquirer and Straits Times. The first (Madrunio, 2004a) examined selected linguistic features of the two Asian Englishes as reflected in the complaint letters. The linguistic signals examined were grammatical and lexical features such as personal reference pronouns, modal verbs, and attitudinal/evaluative adjectives, as well as passive constructions. Other linguistic signals studied were speech act verbs in terms of illocutionary force indicating devices (IFIDs), affect indicating phrases (AIPs), and commonly recurring phrases. The second study (Madrunio, 2004b) analyzed the discourse structure of letters of complaint to editors in *Philippine Daily Inquirer* and *Straits Times*, representing Philippine English and Singaporean English, respectively. Textual analysis was used to identify the organizational moves. Data reveal that both Philippine and Singapore samples employed the same number of moves: introduction, background, complaint, request for redress, suggestion, justification for suggestion, and conclusion. No significant differences were found in the frequency of occurrence of these moves except for the introduction. However, a significant difference was found between the two samples in terms of length of letters.

Another study (Dayag, forthcoming) attempted to investigate the use of metadiscourse strategies in L2 argumentative writing in six Asian varieties of English (i.e. Philippine English, Singaporean English, Indian English, Japanese English, Chinese English, and Korean English). Specifically, it addressed the following questions: (1) How can the global structures (macrostructures) of editorials in Asian Englishes be described? (2) What textual metadiscourse strategies are used to realize the global structures of Asian English newspaper editorials? (3) What interpersonal metadiscourse strategies are used to realize the global structures of Asian English newspaper editorials? The corpus for the study consisted of a total of 420 English-language editorials or 30 from the online version of each of the following newspapers: Philippine Daily Inquirer and Philippine Star (Philippines), The Straits Times and Business Times (Singapore), The Times of India and Indian Express (India), Asahi Japan and Japan Times (Japan), China Daily and Hong Kong Standard (China), and Korea Herald and Korea Times (South Korea).

Other studies have looked at the similarities and differences in discursive strategies between L1 (i.e. Filipino) and L2 (i.e. English). Laurilla (2002), for instance, is a case study of advice columns found in Filipino magazines and/ or broadsheets (newspapers). It attempted to determine the 'genre' of advice columns, particularly in the area of self-disclosure and the concept of 'presentation of self' or 'face work strategies' of those letter writers (presumably with problems that need counseling) who seek advice and those who offer advice, i.e. the columnist. The importance of the study lies primarily in its use of contrastive rhetorical analysis within the bilingual context. The study is also

important because it not only provides insight into this particular genre of writing, but also has implications for the Filipino psychology of self-help and regard for 'authority'.

In addition, Dayag (2004d) focused on the phenomenon of evidentiality in Filipino and Philippine English. The study aimed to: (1) describe the sources of information or data (evidentials) found in Philippine English and Filipino newspaper editorials and to compare Philippine English and Filipino editorials in terms of presenting evidence in newspaper editorials, and (2) identify the strategies employed by these editorials in arranging the sources of information (evidentials) vis-à-vis the discourse structure of the texts. Analysis was based on issues for one month of each of the three leading English-medium newspapers and of the three major morning tabloids circulated in the Philippines, or a total of 180 editorials (90 Philippine English and 90 Filipino editorials).

The study found that Philippine English and Filipino newspaper editorials had more similarities than differences. They were similar in terms of the frequent use of the more non-visual type of direct evidence than the visual type. On indirect evidentials, there was widespread use of inferentials in newspaper editorials in both languages, compared to presumptives, perhaps in keeping with the interpretative and evaluative nature of editorials. However, a difference was noted in the use of mediated evidence (quotatives) in the newspaper editorials in question. For example, while it topped the list of mediated evidentials in editorials in both languages, reported speech is used more extensively in Philippine English editorials than in their Filipino counterpart. In addition, direct quotation is not fully exploited by Filipino editorials, in contrast to the Philippine English texts. Second, there was no predictable pattern in terms of the discourse position of evidentials in the Philippine newspaper editorials. That is, they could show up in any part of an editorial — the beginning, middle, or end. Perhaps adherence to an author's own style might partly explain this strategy.

As the above studies show, Philippine media suggest great promise in terms of directions that research can take in the future. First, in keeping with efforts toward cross-linguistic and cross-cultural research, more investigation is needed of genres of media discourse within the contrastive rhetoric framework. One issue that needs investigation is the global structure of news stories in both Philippine English and Filipino, and how the overall structure of Philippine English news stories differs from that of American English and British English. Another possible topic for research has to do with how newspaper editorials are shaped by intertextual links. In addition, despite the number of studies conducted on advertising language, the genre of advertising (both print and broadcast) is still a promising area for research. Studies of advertising discourse may utilize the stylistic, semiotic, or genre approach.

Certainly, the linguistics of Philippine advertisements is an interesting area of research, but a sociolinguistic approach to the study of these advertisements may yield more insights into issues such as the relationship between language used in advertisements and the socioeconomic status of the viewer/reader. In other words, are English-language advertisements preferred to Filipinolanguage advertisements or preferred by the poor? If so, how would this relate to the language issue in the country? Furthermore, with the proliferation of broadcast interviews on radio and television, it might be good to study this genre in order to account for a number of issues, for instance, the relationship between language and gender, the operation of the politeness principle, the multifunctionality of questions asked in these interview programs, and the like.

Finally, apart from using descriptive approaches to the study of media discourse in the Philippines such as those presented above, there may also be a need for a critical approach to the linguistics of media. This is to say, it may be insightful to look at the links between media texts like newspaper editorials, print and TV advertisements, and news stories, and ideology and power, and at the construction of individual and social identity. That would be a welcome addition to the growing body of literature on Philippine media discourse.

# Concluding remarks

In this chapter, I have presented a profile of the English-language media encompassing both print (newspapers and magazines) and broadcast (radio and television). The chapter also discusses the role that the Philippine media play in the development of the Philippine English lexicon. It concludes with a survey of studies of the Philippine media and a brief discussion of directions for future research on Philippine media discourse. The Philippine media constitute an interesting field for linguistic research, providing a rich body of data, and enabling the exploration of text as social interaction. What makes the Philippine media particularly interesting, moreover, is the diversity of languages in contact, with English used alongside Filipino and a number of other regional languages, including Cebuano and Ilocano. The Philippine mass media thus provide a fascinating research area for critical linguistics, discourse analysis, sociolinguistics, pragmatics, and a range of other linguistic studies.

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# World Englishes or worlds of English? Pitfalls of a postcolonial discourse in Philippine English

T. Ruanni F. Tupas

While the anti-colonial project notes that the subaltern can and do in fact speak, and consequently have become agents of their own history, it simultaneously recognizes that the limits of class, ethnicity, culture, gender and difference define how, when and why the subaltern speaks. (Dei, 2006: 16)

#### Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to provide an interrogation of 'world Englishes' (WE) as a postcolonial discourse. Until recently, mainstream linguistics has paid little attention to the debates on postcolonialism associated with the work of Edward Said and others, despite an evident need for an interrogative stance toward formal language studies and its disciplinary and ideological underpinnings (Bolton and Hutton, 2000). This is not to say, of course, that postcolonial theorizing and cultural studies have not permeated 'linguistic studies' in the broadest sense. For example, the more (but not always) theoretically inclusive fields of applied linguistics and sociolinguistics of English in recent years have engaged in the polemics of postcolonialism, for example to investigate hybridized forms and silent voices of language use both inside and outside the classroom, and (re)read them as postcolonial practices of resistance against, among many things, the disempowering powers of monolingualist ideologies and (Western/colonial) conceptual tools of linguistic analysis. Two exemplars are Canagarajah's (1999b) classroom practices of resistance against linguistic imperialism (cf. Phillipson, 1992) and Kachru's (1997) empire writing back (cf. Ashcroft et al., 1989). Similarly, Said's 'colonial discourse analysis' via Foucault and poststructuralism could be retrieved from Pennycook's (1998) sustained engagement with colonial discourses in and around English and its teaching. However, in order to keep the interrogative academic spirit of our work as demonstrated in the postcolonial project, there is a continuous need for vigorous and sustained self-reflexive practices in our work, and without such critical self-reflexivity, there is always the danger of complicity with the ideologies and social structures against which we believe we resist. Such complicity has always been at the center of much debate on postcolonialism. Its radicalism — in the sense that it emerged from the praxis of anti-colonial struggles of much of the early and middle part of the twentieth century (Young, 2001) — in some cases has been reappropriated and reinterpreted to serve more palatable ideologies of globalization and related social phenomena (Ahmad, 1992; Dirlik, 1994).

The purpose of this chapter, therefore, is to explore the ideological foundations of a particular paradigm in the sociolinguistics of English, i.e. that of 'world Englishes' (or 'WE'). I will do so by situating the paradigm within theoretical and political contexts and concretizing my argument through a discussion of the political dynamics of 'Philippine English'. In an earlier article (Tupas, 2004), I discussed the politics of Philippine English with the assumption that it works within the ideological underpinnings of the WE paradigm. This paper works in tandem with the earlier one, but this time I focus on the political dynamics of WE itself (see also Tupas, 2001a) using the example/experience of 'Philippine English' to concretize my arguments. I will argue that while the paradigm as a whole does not explicitly position itself as a postcolonial enterprise — its rhetoric of 'inclusivity' by itself opens itself up to a variety of approaches (Bolton, 2004; 2005) — much of its discourse is also culled from postcolonial theorizing.<sup>2</sup> This is not surprising since much of the 1980s during which WE emerged as a powerful and radical paradigm in the understanding of the spread of English around the world was the time when 'the academy witnessed the advent of postcolonial discourse' (Chu, 2004: 37). True, it could be understood as a study of the sociolinguistic functions of English without the necessity of an explicit political analysis (e.g. Dissanayake, 1985; Lowenberg, 1986), but it is almost always implicated in political questions, simultaneously referring to itself as a sociolinguistics of hybridization, nativization, and resistance very much within the ideological purview of, say, Homi Bhabha's (1994) articulate theorization of hybridity and Ashcroft et al.'s (1989) important work on postcolonial literary criticism.

Even Kachru's (1986a) immensely popular and useful mapping of the concentric circles of English language spread which traces the shifting locations of the power of the language from its Western imperial source (Inner Circle) to its erstwhile colonial strongholds (Outer Circles), and further into the 'rest of the world' (Expanding Circle) (Berns, 2005: 92), is very much within the spirited remapping of postcolonial power relations among nations in the light of the newly-found confidence of the colonized world since the period of decolonization in the middle part of the twentieth century. In a sense, WE has been a by-product of intensely anti-colonial political struggles repackaged in academia, especially in the 1980s, as a consolidated effort to

theorize the conditions of what Fanon (1965) referred to as the 'wretched of the earth', recover their subjectivities and agencies, and develop programs of resistance and empowerment for these subaltern (Young, 2001; see Fanon, 1965; Guha, 1982). Thus, when Bolton (2005) faults Pennycook (e.g. 2001) for not only 'shift[ing] the object of study almost entirely from language data and linguistic analysis to that of activist pedagogical politics, but also rel[ying] heavily on the discourse of postcolonialism and postmodernism transferred to the sociolinguistics/applied linguistics arena' (75), it is because strands of such discourse are already in the sociolinguistics/applied linguistics arena.3

It is not the purpose of the chapter, however, to run a forceful critique of postcolonial theory itself. Not only do I have no expertise to do so, but postcolonial studies themselves are marked by various contentious positions on what the theory is about and what it is for (e.g. see Young, 2001; Dirlik, 1994; Shohat, 1992; Sivaramakrishnan, 2004; Ashcroft et al., 1989). What I hope to do is to demonstrate how WE as a sociolinguistic paradigm, with special reference to the case of 'Philippine English', is sustained by a particular discourse of postcoloniality, one that is markedly postcolonial in spirit and form but, on historical and sociopolitical grounds, is ideologically conservative and dangerously complicit with recent ideas and practices of neoliberal globalization (see Gledhill, 2004; Stiglitz, 2002), the source of hotly contested debates because of its connection with rising global inequalities and fundamentalisms (e.g. see Sernau, 2000; Black, 1999). The political discourse of WE, in other words, is both enabling and disempowering: it fittingly delegitimitizes English's traditional center of power and norms and, in the process, rightly assaults the 'sacred cows' of English language teaching and learning all over the world (e.g. Kachru, 1988); at the same time, it eschews important dimensions of the nature of power relations in the postindependence, post-Cold War era.

# The politics of World Englishes

According to Bolton (2005), Kachru's paradigm went beyond the linguistic dimensions of the Englishes around the world and:

> into the discussion of the sociohistorical, sociopolitical and ideological underpinnings of the discourses of world Englishes. His advocacy of a 'sociallyrealistic' approach to world English ... enabled him to construct such models of world Englishes as 'three circles of English', 'bilingual creativity', 'multicanons', and 'power politics', thus enabling what had been periphery English users to 'write back' and rewrite the discourses of their Englishes in the academy. (73)

What, then, constitutes the political discourse of WE? First, in an earlier paper, I summarized the basic assumptions of the field which I believe remain true up to the present (Tupas, 2001a: 81; see also Tupas, 2004):

- The phenomenal spread of English, which was carried mainly through globalization, has resulted in the diffusion of the language.
- Such diffusion has produced different Englishes through sociolinguistic processes usually referred to as nativization, hybridization, localization, acculturation and/or indigenization.
- Such processes are part of the whole project of decolonization among formerly colonized countries where 'owning' English or appropriating it according to their own needs and aspirations is one of the manifestations of independence or self-determination.
- Such postcolonial Englishes have been a legitimate medium through which various significations of nationalism, resistance, and local histories and cultures have been voiced.
- · Legitimized and institutionalized Englishes are, linguistically and sociolinguistically, all equal with erstwhile 'old' varieties of English, such as American English and British English.

What is crucially important to note regarding WE is its view of the postcolonial as distinguishable from the colonial. English has two faces (Kachru, 1988) — the face of the colonizer (Western, Judeo-Christian) and the face of the colonized (e.g. African, Asian) — and it is possible to look only at the face of the 'present', that facet of the English language which has opened up democratically to the desires and cries of the colonized whose sociolinguistic fulfillment can be seen from the various novel ways the English language has been 'reinvented' and 'destroyed'. Hybridized and indigenized Englishes in this sense are sociolinguistic, liberatory phenomena that legitimize the 'present' face of the English language. Consequently, to give one example, English is no longer just in Asia but, more importantly, of Asia and is an Asian language because people here have now accepted the language as one of their own and used it to suit their needs (Kachru, 2004; Bautista, 1997). It is in this context that Kachru vigorously argues for an empowering notion of 'nativeness' which proposes that the erstwhile 'non-native' speakers of English (based on genetic nativeness) are themselves native speakers of the language based on its unique and varied functionalities vis-à-vis the lives of these speakers. The analytical categories of hybridization and nativization, therefore, are ideologically linked with questions of ownership, power, and resistance in the postcolonial world. It is in this sense that the sociolinguistics of postcolonialism and the English language radically shakes the foundations of colonial discourses of and on English which constructed images of the colonized as deficient, voiceless speakers of the language. Such sociolinguistics as a postcolonial discourse, to borrow the words of Young (2001), 'commemorates not the colonial but the triumph over it' (60).

However, WE's narrative of hybridization, nativization, and resistance in the postcolonial era is incomplete. Yes, the postcolonial 'pays tribute to the great achievements of resistance against colonial power'; however, 'paradoxically, it also describes the conditions of existence that have followed in which many basic power structures have yet to change in any substantive way' (Young, 2001: 60). In other words, there are fundamental connections between the 'past' and the 'present'; their faces constitute untransparent features of power and struggle in the light of the onslaught of 'new' forms of domination via capitalist globalization. There is no choice of which face to choose: the choice cannot simply be the singular face of the celebratory present; speakers of Englishes and other languages are themselves implicated in contemporary forms of power. WE is deployed across a postcolonial world that is also 'witnessing the globalization of power relations. Patterns of colonial domination persist, yet with new twists' (Sernau, 2000: 113).

# (Re)framing power in the globalizing world

These 'new twists' are, of course, difficult to grapple with: our argument above that there are fundamental connections between past and present forms of social relations may inadvertently gloss over equally fundamental shifts in power structures in the postcolonial era brought about by concentrations of capital and transnational alliances of the powerful.

On the one hand, there is a need to recognize the justifiability of a collective postcolonial struggle because of the incomplete nature of decolonization and because many of the structures and issues that were the center of anti-colonial politics have remained unresolved and/or unchanged in a fundamental way, for example land distribution in the case of the Philippines (San Juan, 1998), caste-based relations in the case of India (Ramanathan, 1999, 2005), and cultural and economic neocolonialism in much of Africa (Prah, 2001). The processes of decolonization generally did not automatically result in genuine freedom for the colonized; to some extent, they involved the transfer of power from the colonizers to national elites who as intermediaries between the nation and the colonial power betrayed the legitimate aspirations of anti-colonial struggles by aligning themselves with the cultures and ideologies of their former colonial masters (Fanon, 1965). It should not surprise us, then, that as soon as the colonized countries around the world gained their 'independence' from the mid-twentieth century one after the other, anti-colonial classic texts upon which postcolonialism drew its theoretical strength were written on the assumption that colonialism as a system did not cease to exist after independence and that, as a consequence, independence did not result in freedom (e.g. Sartre, 1956/2001; Fanon, 1965; Nkrumah, 1965).

On the other hand, but intricately related to the earlier discussion, there is also the need to avoid homogenizing the 'West' and the 'colonizer' in the name of a unified struggle of the 'oppressed'. The analytic power of the North-South dichotomy hides the fact that conditions of poverty are as much present in the heartlands of the rich North as they are in much of the poor South. Additionally, the globalization of power relations referred to earlier has created a transnational alliance among national elites whose interests are identical in terms of their pursuit of international capital and their support for neoliberal infrastructures such as transnational corporations and institutions, denationalization of economies, deregulation of financial markets, and privatization of key state institutions like education and health. They are the 'transnational capitalist class' (TCC), which owns and operates most of the world's means of production (Thornton, 2004: 6), the 'new global elite' (5), 'transnational elites' (Friedman, 2004b), or the 'new global superclass' — collectively referred to as the Davos Man<sup>4</sup> — 'who see the world as one vast, interconnected marketplace in which corporations search for the most advantageous locations to buy, produce and sell their goods and services (Gumbel, 2005: 44). Their underside is the Manila Woman — 'low-paid migrant workers from Asia and elsewhere who are increasingly providing key services around the world' (48). Apparently, the Davos Man is not the same colonizer of the past, although in some important respects he is an intersection of past and present movements of power; similarly, he resides mainly in the North, although this is not necessarily always the case. Local (post)colonial relations of power, therefore, have now been projected onto the global arena where the gap between the rich and the poor both within and across nations has widened even more in recent years despite, and/or because of, globalization (Nayyar, 1997; Black, 1999; Sernau, 2000).

In short, current global structures of power are not transparent and do not flow in a unilinear manner such that there is only one, identifiable source of power. However, the notion of power as dispersed across regions and social communities, and is therefore everywhere, is equally problematic since it cannot capture the fact that much of social action is governed by an underlying logic of power, albeit difficult to portray. WE captures the spread of power from the colonial center to the rest of the world through its narrative of hybridizing, nativizing, and resisting Englishes. From its colonizing source at the Centre, power has dispersed across the ex-colonial nations such that questions about linguistic norms and standards have become both sociolinguistic and political questions of ownership, struggle, and resistance. WE, however, is much less interested in the equally real movements of power that contribute to a sustained polarization of class-based relations within and across nations. Here, the implications for WE are immense and go deep down into the heart of its theoretical vibrancy: if world Englishes are sociolinguistically real, out of which political agency emerges to give voice and

confidence to their speakers, whose Englishes are these which have allegedly gained political legitimacy and helped their speakers wrest control of the language from its erstwhile 'native' users (cf. Parakrama, 1995; Holborow, 1999; Pennycook, 2003)? The reality of polarized class relations requires us to ask whose Englishes are legitimate and whose are not.

# The power of English

According to Kachru (1986b), the power of English can be seen through its 'range' and 'depth'. The range of English refers to the totality of functions which it has acquired as it spread around the globe. Its depth refers to the amount of societal penetration it has achieved as it moved from the Inner Circle to the other circles. Although difficult to assess, depth can be gleaned through the pluricentricity of English and the development of varieties within an educated variety in the Outer Circle. Putting together the depth and range of English, the following are Kachru's useful parameters of the power of the language (130, italics as original):

> Demographical and numerical: unprecedented spread across cultures and languages; on practically every continent . . .

> Functional: provides access to most important scientific, technological, and cross-cultural domains of knowledge and interaction.

> Attitudinal: symbolizes — certainly to a large group across cultures — one or more of the following: neutrality, liberalism, status and progressivism.

> Accessibility: provides intranational accessibility in the Outer Circle and international mobility across regions (cf. 'link language,' and 'complementary language').

> Pluricentricity: this has resulted in the nativization and acculturation of the language. These two are, then, responsible for the 'assimilation' of English across cultures.

Material: a tool for mobility, economic gains, and social status.

Given the general assumptions of WE discussed above, however, framed against our brief polemical discussion of the nature of power relations in the world, we can argue that such parameters of the power of English do not account for certain important dimensions of power movements today. The depth of the power of English, Kachru says, can be viewed in a 'horizontal sense' where English moves away from its traditional center to its many other centers across the globe through nativization and acculturation which are

themselves implicated in practices of resistance and liberation. To a large extent, thus, the postcoloniality of English seems to be derived from the depth of its power. However, the dimensions of class, social hierarchy and/or social polarization both in an international and intranational sense are to a large extent taken out of the picture. To contextualize these issues further, I would like to discuss the politics of 'Philippine English'.

# The case of Philippine English

Issuing from the paradigm of WE, 'Philippine English' is incriminated in a similar discourse of postcoloniality. In fact, years before Kachru's groundbreaking work (1986a), Gonzalez (1976) had already conceptualized the unique variety of English in the Philippines as an assertion of selfidentification and (linguistic) freedom which would indigenize the content of English language materials in the country; Filipinos have started recreating the English language, a case of linguistic emancipation which is parallel with economic and cultural emancipation. Similarly, Bautista's (1997) edited book, English Is an Asian Language, which features the works of Kachru and some prominent Filipino applied linguists and sociolinguists, also works within questions of ownership, 'writing back', and related issues in 'Philippine English' and other Englishes.

The Philippines was directly colonized by the United States during much of the first part of the twentieth century, but despite nominal independence given to the country in 1946, the Philippine educational system continues to show large traces of American influence (Canieso-Doronila, 1989). For example, as late as the early 1970s, the foothold of the English language in the schools was unshakable, and even after the introduction of the bilingual education policy (Pilipino<sup>6</sup> and English as media of instruction) in 1974, English has remained the language of power, prestige, and social mobility (Bernardo, 2004; Hau and Tinio, 2003; Sibayan and Gonzalez, 1996; Tollefson, 1991; Canieso-Doronila, 1989; Tupas, 2001b). Despite fierce nationalist struggles against English as the sole language of instruction which ultimately led to the institutionalization of the bilingual policy, the symbolic power of English has remained very strong. The domains of Filipino may have expanded such that it now has a wider spread of functions and uses with the large majority of Filipinos able to speak and understand it (Bautista, 1988), nevertheless the past three decades still have seen the consolidation of the symbolic resources of English where the needs of the poor majority in terms of education and social mobility are constructed toward the ideology of language pragmatism where English is deemed indispensable and must take precedence over questions of identity, social and educational equity, poverty, cognitive development, and so on.

For the past three decades at least, the English language has been implicated in the political dynamics of 'nation-building' and 'development' in the country. With an economy driven by international capital through various forms of foreign investments and export-driven, labor-intensive strategies, the schools have become both the ideological battleground for the inculcation of neoliberal ideas among the youth and the training center of docile bodies out of which skills needed locally and abroad were generated (Tupas, 2001b). For example, in the Philippine Development Report, 1978, of the National Economic Development Authority (1979), the 'development of the country's manpower' was carried through a 'comprehensive educational process' (110), such that the 'realignment of education and training' was implemented in the service of 'national development thrusts' (115). Among out-of-school youths, the same developmental agenda was carried out by the National Manpower and Youth Council (NMYC). In simple terms, this meant the crucial utilization of educational resources (both formal and non-formal) for export-driven economic development.

The National College Entrance Examination (NCEE) would then become the chief educational, and thus social, stratifier (Philippine Normal College Research Center, 1983). With standards set by the central government, the NCEE determined who among the high school graduates could go on to college, earn their degrees, and most possibly become white-collar workers. Those who did not pass could either enroll in technical education certificate courses or start working in low-paying jobs because by then they would have been taught vocational skills in high school through institutionalized technical programs. In other words, not only has English become the language for labor, but — analogous to the colonial experience — it has also remained an instrument for educational segregation. The main language of the NCEE was English and those who passed it apparently were more proficient in the language than those who failed the test. What emerged, therefore, was a labor force of varying English language proficiencies which would cater to the various demands of the international labor market (Tollefson, 1991; Sibayan and Gonzalez, 1996). Such linguistic hierarchization, in turn, has helped perpetuate the socioeconomic status quo, as pointed out below by Bernardo (2004), who concludes based on research done on the impact (past and present) of English as a medium of instruction in the Philippine schools.

> The small proportion of the population who have easily acquired English language proficiencies in their enriched milieu will have the best chances of learning in the various domains taught in English. They will have an everwidening array of options available for education, even in foreign countries. But the overwhelming majority of the population, who will forever struggle with English as a foreign language, will likely find their limited proficiencies in English a major stumbling block to learning in the various domains of knowledge ... They are the ones most likely to fail in examinations and writing

requirements in English, to perceive much of formal education as irrelevant, and to drop out of school altogether. (Bernardo 2004: 27)

What we see here, therefore, is a snapshot of the complex and contemporary workings of power as viewed within the sociopolitical realities of Philippine society. The so-called 'wedge' between the minority elite and the vast majority of the Filipino masses partly sustained by the dominance of the English language during the colonial and early post-independence period (Constantino, 1970), is (re)constituted in the discourse and practice of capitalist globalization in general, and export-driven economic development in particular. In other words, in the period following the Philippines' nominal political independence in 1946, colonial class relations, markedly visible through unequal distribution of all sorts of resources in society, including land, education, and the English language (or specifically its prestige forms), have been sustained through the infrastructures of global capitalism, for example through the use of the educational system to train Filipinos for cheap labor abroad. In the colonial past, the ideology of equality accruing to English was gradually replaced by the reality of educational, and thus social, inequality brought about by differential access to colonial power (e.g. pensionados or a select group of Filipinos sent to the United States to study and come back to occupy important positions in government [Sibayan, 1991] and the Filipino 'caciques' who retained the land they received from the Spanish in exchange for political support for the Americans [Anderson, 1988]). In recent decades, the government's development strategies geared toward opening the economy to international capital would draw on the same social structure to promote the use of English. English is, indeed, the language of social mobility — and everyone, rich and poor, adheres to this belief — but the reality is that not everyone has access to the sort of English that makes one move up the social ladder. It is one thing to support the continued dominance of English in the schools because it is the language of prestige, employment, and mobility that will empower its users, but it is another thing to say that this is what is happening to the vast majority of Filipinos.

Here is one case in point: the recent incursion into the call center market of our 'low cost country' with a 'very open economy' (International Herald Tribune, 2003) in order 'to become the new star in the global outsourcing business' (Digital Philippines, 2003), has revealed an undersupply of highly proficient English language speakers because those who can speak 'good' (American) English mainly come from a small group of schools, especially expensive exclusive schools concentrated in urban centers like Metro Manila. In other words, there are 'good jobs' in the Philippines — but only for 'good English speakers' (Rivera, 2004: 1, 5). Meanwhile, those with low-level English language proficiencies — and they constitute the majority of the country's labor force mainly because much of the educational system is mediocre —

consequently become marginalized economically, socially and politically (Go, 1998: 15; Sibayan and Gonzalez, 1996). Those who leave the country to work abroad — and again, they constitute the great majority of exported labor become, among many possibilities, domestic helpers in Singapore and Hong Kong, entertainers in Japan, and construction workers in Taiwan and in several countries in the Middle East.

In other words, issues of language choice in education and society are intricately interwoven with another crucial dimension of language politics in the Philippines: the question of access not only to particular language(s) of power, but also to particular varieties of English framed within broad relations of power which are themselves constituted by an intersection of historical (e.g. colonial, postcolonial), ideological (e.g. nationalist, globalist, pragmatist), and sociopolitical (e.g. class-based, economic) forces. In a broad sense, we can refer to this as 'the political economy of linguistic-communicative resources in a society' which deals with issues of 'the availability, accessibility and distribution of specific linguistic-communicative skills such as competence in standard and literate varieties of the languages' (Blommaert, 2001: 136).7 In the case of the Philippines, this also brings us back to the nature of language choice: is choice really an individual choice which has realistic material and symbolic rewards to all, or is it a social construction, an ideology meant to advantage only a small circle of people in society (cf. Ramanathan, 2005; Kandiah, 1994; Lin, 1999)? And more specifically in the case of the politics of English, granted that everyone who has access to some kind of education also has access to English, whose English is legitimate in such a way that it is what is deemed correct in examinations, apt for good jobs, etc.? In the Philippines, who really owns English in such a way that they can deploy it — or destroy it — for their own benefit?

In his now famous articulate statement, Filipino poet Gémino Abad declares: 'English is now ours. We have colonized it too' (Abad, 1997: 170). But — who are the 'we'? Viewed from WE's concentric circles, it is the people who speak the English of the Philippines which is presumably different from the one being spoken by 'native' speakers in the Inner Circle. But viewed from the perspective of class, the 'we' is the much more exclusive group of people whose English is 'correct' and who share with other 'educated' speakers of Englishes a sort of (international) mutual intelligibility in English based on received notions of grammatical correctness and appropriateness of use. Thus, while Bautista (2000) correctly argues that there is a standard Philippine English with its own logical system of grammar and lexicon, she also concedes that in the Philippines there is still a 'standard of standards' in school which is largely based on American English and is highly desirable in education and society (17).

It is in this sense that 'educated' speakers of English in the 'Outer Circle' share with 'educated' speakers of English in the 'Inner Circle' a common

political experience of being the source of linguistic norms of use and usage and, in the broadest sense, of being the political center of power itself toward which society's privileges are usually drawn. Not only can the Philippine experience attest to this specific political configuration of the politics of English: parallel conditions exist in many countries as well, both in 'Inner' and 'Outer' circles, including India (Ramanathan, 1999), Sri Lanka (Parakrama, 1995), and England (Schwab, 1994). In short, Kachru's concentric circles model is both valuable and inadequate: it is useful in the sense that much of knowledge production, including the construction of language teaching materials which perpetuate and/or reinvent norms and rules, still emanates from what Holliday (1994) calls BANA countries — British, Australasian, and North American countries; that a collective postcolonial struggle against colonially-induced forms of oppression in today's world is to some extent still a viable political project. But it is inadequate in the sense that it does not capture the phenomenon of class-based transnational alliances where inner circles both in traditionally 'native' and 'non-native' countries share similar desires for international capital, a singular global economy, and cosmopolitan lifestyles and identities (see also Tupas, 2006).

#### Conclusion

The main arguments in this chapter are not new since a number of scholars around the globe have voiced similar sentiments as well. For example, the politics of hybridity (apart from postcolonial work on this concept, of course) in relation to the power of English in the world today has been discussed animatedly, for example in an exchange between Rajagopalan (1999a; 1999b) and Canagarajah (1999a). The postcolonial politics of knowledge production and consumption in academic writing has been vigorously pursued by Canagarajah (2002), which, in turn, has been vigorously challenged by Kandiah (2005). Likewise, the politics of equality of languages and varieties of a language has been raised in various theoretical and disciplinal contexts as well (e.g. Mazrui, 1998; Blommaert, 2001; Hymes, 1985). In the case of the pitfalls of postcolonial theorizing, there is immense work on this matter as well (e.g. Ahmad, 1992; Dirlik, 1994; Shohat, 1992; San Juan, 1998; Goss, 1996; Friedman, 2003). What this chapter hopes to contribute is to shed light on some political questions that accrue to the paradigm of WE. Some work has been done on this matter as well (see Parakrama, 1995; Holborow, 1999; Canagarajah, 1999b; Pennycook, 2003), but this chapter locates its critique within the pitfalls of WE's own (postcolonial) discourse itself, of course by drawing on class-oriented questions which some earlier work has done.

While we can acknowledge the usefulness of English in today's world, it is another thing to de-center or eschew issues of power, inequality, and poverty

within which English is implicated for the reason that, say, its hybridized varieties have now empowered their speakers and, consequently, have made English a language of resistance and empowerment. What is important is to continuously remind ourselves that issues of hybridization, indigenization, linguistic diffusion, empowerment, and resistance are worked out within structures of power and limited agencies, and that to talk about them is to talk about political questions concerning the polemics of globalization, power, postcolonialism, class, and so on. In this sense, sociolinguistics is politics, and to separate the two does not solve the issue since doing so is also a political act through and through.

Speaking of Africa, Mazrui (1998) argues that even the phenomenon of diasporas is itself implicated in the phenomenon of the continuing colonization of much of the world:

> Colonialism itself may have come to an end in Africa. But the conditions it set in motion, and their multifarious effects, have continued to bedevil the continent to this day. That is why even people who are being 'diasporized' in this post-colonial phase can be regarded as part of the diaspora of colonization. (Mazrui 1998: 49)

Villareal (2002) argues a similar point in the case of notions of varieties of English as emancipatory hybrid forms of the language. She provides a cautionary note:

> although much scholarly discussion and literary experimentation have been done on the concepts of hybridity, the appropriation of English, and the development of our varieties of English, it is too facile to speak of equality in language and culture. Note, for instance, the concern to capture the notion of a Filipino variety of English, and the 'standardization of the grammatical features of Filipino English' or Singlish, or other varieties of English. Languages are documented mainly by the educated and standards set by them. Thus, English, even when appropriated, eventually becomes exclusionary and divisive. (Villareal 2002: 33-4)

Some political projects — for example, linguistic human rights (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000) — have become sociolinguistic problems because the rigors of scholarship have been compromised in the name of political ideologies and causes (Blommaert, 2001). In the case of this chapter, some sociolinguistic projects — for example, the WE paradigm — are political problems as well, in the sense that questions of language, agency, resistance, and empowerment have been largely disentangled from power and social relations in today's globalizing societies. What this chapter hopes to contribute, in other words, is a focused critique of the ideological paradigm of WE, using the case of 'Philippine English' as an example, in order to (re)open spaces of discussion

for issues which have been marginalized by the field. In this case, studies of world Englishes need not only focus on the 'Englishes' of the world, but, more importantly, must take account of the 'worlds' of English as well.

#### Notes

- 1. This chapter is dedicated to Professor Magelende M. Flores, Professor at the Department of English and Comparative Literature, University of the Philippines in Diliman, whose life as a very dedicated language educator has inspired my own career in teaching.
- In his essay on the state-of-the-art in world Englishes, Bolton (2005) provides a comprehensive and very useful categorization of various approaches to the study of world Englishes. In the spirit of 'inclusivity' and 'pluralism', Bolton characterizes the study of world Englishes as encompassing ideological paradigms and theoretical approaches, which somehow opens up 'the' field to a much broader range of politico-sociolinguistic work on English around the world. Bolton's 'three broad groupings' of approaches to world Englishes are (1) those that are linguistic in orientation, (2) those that share linguistic and sociopolitical concerns (which include 'the world Englishes approach'), and (3) those that are primarily sociopolitical and political in orientation (75). On the other hand, in his exploration of the implications of such inclusivity and pluralism, he works within a particular (Kachruvian) approach to world Englishes and refers to it as 'the world Englishes approach' or 'the world Englishes paradigm'. Similarly, Bolton (2005) works within the Kachruvian rhetoric of inclusivity in his critique of Pennycook's take on world Englishes which, in Bolton's categorization, belongs to the critical linguistic approach (the third group). There may be truth to the claim that inclusivity and pluralism constitute the 'ethos of the world Englishes approach' (2005: 78, italics as original), but 'the' approach's ideological predispositions are a different matter altogether. To maintain some sort of conceptual clarity for this paper, therefore, I would like to focus on the ideological assumptions — and more specifically, the particular postcolonial discourse — of the (Kachruvian) paradigm of world Englishes. I am not inclined to include under the general banner of 'world Englishes' the works in, say, 'English studies' (e.g. Quirk, Greenbaum, McArthur) and 'critical linguistics' (e.g. Phillipson, Pennycook) whose radically different ideological predispositions in the first place are ignored and (in some cases, disparaged) in the name or defense of a particular (Kachruvian) approach. Indeed, there are many approaches to the study of world Englishes, but the paradigm of world Englishes which works within notions like indigenization, nativization, hybridization, resistance, etc. and deploys a particular discourse of postcoloniality is another thing. This chapter is therefore not a linguistic or sociolinguistic (in a stricter sense of the term) paper; this is a political paper in a broad sense without the claim of expertise in history, political science, and so on. By doing this, I do not wish to 'leave a diminishing space for linguistics' (Bolton, 2005: 80), but simply — in fact, in the spirit of Bolton and Hutton (2000) — to probe into certain assumptions of certain linguistic work which, whether we like it or not, lend themselves to political and ideological questions.
- This chapter explores 'a postcolonial discourse' or 'a particular discourse of postcoloniality' that pervades WE because the field of postcolonial studies is peppered with various claims to reality as well. Whether one is sympathetic to it or not, 'postcolonial' is very much a contested term. Even Dirks, who defends postcolonial criticism against vociferous vilification of those 'academics (who) are speaking very loudly' (237), admits that the 'field has also been the scene of grand pronouncements about the stakes in the battles being waged. And how can one not be concerned about the subordination of some social categories in the generalization of claims about the universal character of postcoloniality? There are major differences between political exiles, the migrant poor, and middle-class immigrants; forms and patterns do not swirl about in some undifferentiated diaspora, even if a core connection between modern hybridity and colonial history seems irrefutable' (244).
- After the name of the Swiss town where the international business elite gather to attend the annual World Economic Forum (WEF), founded in 1971.
- There are, of course, fine distinctions in the deployment of these terms. Friedman (2004b), for example, refers to a 'two-layered elite structure' (190) which describes these new global elites in terms of two categories: the aristocratic group (associated with industrial production) and the managerial group (associated with finance) (see also Friedman 2003, 2004a). Time's 'new global superclass' (Gumbel, 2005), on the other hand, seems to collapse the two groups, and is even more inclined to associate them with global finance and business. The same assumptions, however, underlie all these terms: that there is an emerging (or newly emerged) 'new' class of globally interconnected elite who control much of the world's material and ideological resources.
- 'Pilipino' refers to the Tagalog-based national language of the Philippines promulgated in the 1973 constitution. It was meant to replace 'Tagalog' to deethnicize the latter. Later, in the 1987 constitution, Pilipino would be replaced by 'Filipino' to refer to the national language as an amalgam of all languages in the country, including English.
- Of course, Bloomaert does not simply refer to English language politics, but to all similar political configurations within which languages and language varieties are involved. Some examples could be the tension between oral Standard Arabic and oral Moroccan Arabic in Morocco where the former is more prestigious but is less accessible to the majority (Wagner, 1993); the commodification of language in Francophone Canada where particular multilingual repertoires nevertheless are more desirable than others (Heller, 1999, 2003); the anxiety over which standard to use in the learning and teaching of Mandarin in Singapore (Wee, 2003); and the lowly status of pidgins of Africa even if they constitute a vast repertoire of multilingual/multicultural uses and meanings (Prah, 2001).

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# When I was a child I spake as a child': Reflecting on the limits of a nationalist language policy

D. V. S. Manarpaac

#### Introduction

This essay examines the limits of the nationalist language policy in the Philippines which is aimed at dislodging English from its privileged position in the controlling linguistic domains. Following the suspect adoption of Filipino (a.k.a. Tagalog) as national language in the 1987 Constitution, the Philippines has witnessed a resurgence of nationalist rhetoric in defense of the privileging of one of the country's more than eighty languages as the de jure lingua franca. To the extent that English in the Philippines has evolved into a distinct variety, the essay advocates its institution as sole official language of the country, even as it urges the maintenance of the vernaculars, including Tagalog, as integral part of the Filipino people's multicultural heritage. Unlike Tagalog, which is viewed with skepticism by other ethnolinguistic groups, Philippine English has established itself as an indispensable medium of social and intellectual exchange and a legitimate vehicle of the Filipino people's vision.

## The historical background

The Philippines is an archipelago that consists of some 7,100 islands and boasts more than eighty languages. That the Filipinos need a language in which to communicate with one another is an imperative recognized by everybody. The first attempt to formulate linguistic policy came at the height of the Philippine war of independence from Spain, which coincided with the Spanish-American War. The so-called Malolos Constitution of 1898 spelled out a provisory language policy that adopted Spanish as official language of the country, even as it provided for the optional use of 'languages spoken in the Philippines' (1899 Constitution, Title XIV, Article 93). The Philippines, of course, did not become independent in the aftermath of that war but was sold by Spain to

the USA. The new colonizers, in turn, promptly implemented their own agenda, which included the teaching of English, its use as medium of instruction, and its adoption in other public domains, particularly in government, commerce, and trade. When the status of the colony was changed into that of a commonwealth in 1935, the Philippines drafted a new constitution which provided for the continued use of English and Spanish as official languages while Congress '[took] steps toward the development and adoption of a common national language based on one of the existing native languages' (1935 Constitution, Article XIV, Section 3). This marked the birth of the idea of a national language that was expected to unify Filipinos after they received their independence from the USA in 1945.

It is important to note that the original wish of the delegates to the 1934 constitutional convention was to craft a language based on all indigenous languages (Sibayan, 1986: 351-2), an undertaking which was admittedly formidable in nature, but was cognizant of the multilingual character of the soon-to-be independent republic. But, as history would have it, the nationalist delegates won the upper hand, and three years later, in 1937, President Manuel Quezon, who had earlier negotiated the date of Philippine independence, proclaimed Tagalog as the sole basis of the national language. After that, one arbitrary move led to another. In 1940, the Department of Education decided to start teaching the national language in the senior year of high school, even before that language could actually develop and become recognizably distinct from ordinary Tagalog as spoken in the region (Sibayan, 1986: 353). In 1946, the still nameless national language became a compulsory subject at all levels of primary and secondary education. Finally, in 1959, Secretary Jose Romero of the Department of Education took the liberty of naming the national language Pilipino in a desperate attempt to create at least a nominal difference between the regional language Tagalog and the phantom national language (Sibayan, 1986: 358).

Tagalog suffered a temporary setback in 1973, when a new constitution reverted to the original 1935 idea of developing a national language based on all the languages in the Philippines. Ironically, this came as a result of President Ferdinand Marcos's usurpation of political power and subsequent tampering with the constitution to lend legitimacy to his unlawful regime. The new constitution gave the national language a new name, Filipino (with an 'F'), but provided for the continued use of Pilipino (with a 'P') and English as official languages of the country 'until otherwise provided by law' (1973) Constitution, Article XV, Section 3). Despite the tacit admission that Pilipino was really Tagalog, the Department of Education adopted a bilingual policy of instruction a year later, which provided for the teaching of social science subjects in Pilipino and the natural sciences and mathematics in English (Hidalgo, 1998: 25-26). Finally, after Marcos fled the Philippines in 1986, the new constitution that came into force simply assumed that the national language Filipino already existed and that the government could now promote its use as 'language of instruction in the educational system' (1987 Constitution, Article XIV, Section 6). In truth, however, the framers of the 1987 Constitution simply dissolved the distinction between Pilipino (a.k.a. Tagalog) and the still to be developed Filipino. Thus, Tagalog was catapulted to the status of national language, while English is now in danger of losing its official language status. With an exasperation that many people in the Philippines must share, one Filipino scholar has criticized that last language policy pronouncement as 'a classic case of creating a language by fiat or gobbledy-gook' (Hidalgo, 1998: 24).

## Nationalism and the national language question

As already alluded to, historical developments have twice forced a foreign language down the Filipinos' throats, and the atrocities committed by the foreign powers that subjugated the country in different periods of its history have been etched in the Filipinos' collective psyche. The desire to discard the linguistic legacies of colonialism and to promote the indigenous languages in their stead has therefore been part and parcel of the Filipinos' struggle for freedom itself. The struggle to free the country from the shackles of colonial rule has also been a struggle to free the minds of the people from their enslavement to foreign languages. As defensible as the intention is, it is not a license to skirt the issues of ethnolinguistic diversity. In spite of what nationalists would want everyone to believe, the Filipinos did not become a nation when they finally received their independence from the USA in 1946 (or, for that matter, when they revolted against Spain in 1896). On Independence Day, they were, to a large extent, as diverse as the Spanish colonizers had found them in 1521. Their common experience of exploitation and injustice under the Spanish, the Americans, and for a brief period the Japanese notwithstanding, the Filipinos have remained culturally distinct from one another, speaking a variety of languages, practicing a number of religions, and observing different customs and traditions. Allegiance to the now independent republic demands a high degree of transcendence of ethnolinguistic boundaries, but not their permanent erasure. The clamor for a national language is therefore nothing more than wishful thinking. Like the Philippine flag, national anthem, national costume, and so on, the national language is a mere symbol that begs the question of the existence of a Filipino nation.

Florian Coulmas sees 'the quest for a national language in Third World countries ... as a response to the existence of national languages in Europe and their symbolic significance for national integrity' (Coulmas, 1988: 19). He is, however, quick to call attention to the quintessential difference between late eighteenth-century Europe and postcolonial Asia and sub-Saharan Africa: Decolonization produced new states, but not necessarily new nations, let alone new national languages ... Thus, while the nation state in Europe was largely a product of the nation whose awakening sense of identity called for the establishment of a politically autonomous organization, in the polities of the post-colonial epoch, this has to be produced by the state, which exists as an institutional structure without a nation that pays loyalty to it. (Coulmas, 1988:

Herein lies the crux of the problem in Philippine language policy. The Philippines is a linguistically plural society whose political unity is a result of colonial machinations. Spain determined the extent of its Pacific colony in the sixteenth century and spelled out its boundaries in the deed of sale that it signed with the USA three centuries later. For good or for bad, the boundaries of the Philippines have not been redrawn since then. Already burdened with economic difficulties that formed the legacy of some four hundred years of colonialism, various administrations have tried to safeguard the integrity of the Philippines through the promotion of a national language. For all the good intentions, the move owes much to an antiquated European notion and plays into the hands of a small group of Filipino nationalists.

Thus, Wilfrido Villacorta, who played a key role in the 1987 constitutional hat trick, regurgitates the arguments of European nationalists in the late eighteenth century when he insists on an organic tie between language and thought:

> National pride is best expressed in the national language because the latter carries with it the sentiments and the thought processes that would otherwise not be captured when one uses a foreign language. (Villacorta, 1991: 34)

As is often the case with nationalist rhetoricians, Villacorta's obsession with national unity and cultural autonomy narrows his perspective, so that he begins to propagate a restrictive identity politics that views the adoption of one indigenous language as prerequisite to Filipino nationhood.

To be sure, most Filipino scholars recognize that Filipino, at most, serves a symbolic function. Andrew Gonzalez, for instance, aware of the failure of the country's bilingual education policy, separates the issue of language from nationalism:

> Nationalism assumes many indicators and cannot be stereotyped into preference for medium of instruction in school or even competence in the selected national language. Thus, a linguistic symbol of unity and national identity will not necessarily entail an eagerness to use the language for education, especially when there is a competing dominant second language that is still present to give material incentives and other instrumental reasons for acquisition. (Gonzalez, 1991: 8)

It is unfortunate, however, that Gonzalez eschews the issue of why Filipinos need a national language in the first place. But, at least, he is aware that allegiance to the state is not manifested in the mastery of the national language alone. More importantly, he acknowledges the multiplicity of factors that determine language choice.

The nagging question about the necessity for a national language remains. If it does not really foster unity among different ethnolinguistic groups, nor make a significant contribution to the process of learning, what is it for? In the case of the Philippines, where the question has more or less boiled down to choosing between Tagalog and English as the sole official language of the country, nationalists like Villacorta have a ready answer:

> The national language [Filipino] also serves as a defense against foreign cultures that employ their own language to smother the growth and independence of the developing nation. (Villacorta, 1991: 33)

Clearly such an objection to the continued use of English in the Philippines has to do with a fear that Filipinos will begin to imbibe Anglo-American values, if they have not done so already. Again, echoing European Romantics, Villacorta insists that 'every language is culture-laden, [and that] English carries with it the Weltanschauung of its native speakers' (Villacorta, 1991: 39). Here is a clear exemplification of cultural anxiety. The belief that a foreign language could actually erode local culture and values is, at best, an outmoded paradigm that had some legitimacy in the early stages of decolonization. Following a simplistic causality, it disregards a host of variables that determine which values a particular society adopts at which point in its history. Worse, such a deterministic view assigns cut-and-dried roles to the source culture, as all-powerful and pernicious, and the recipient culture, as highly permeable and passive.

# Linguistic imperialism

This grand design is elaborated on by Robert Phillipson in his comprehensive work Linguistic Imperialism (1992), which focuses on the dramatic spread of English especially in the last century. The book sets out to expose the ideological underpinnings of English Language Teaching (ELT) and examines the roles of the various institutions implicated in a linguistic power play with clear Manichaean poles. On the one hand, there is the essentialized 'Centre' (suggested by the use of the capital letter), which consists primarily of the UK and the USA and institutions that are more or less affiliated with them, including the US Information Agency, the British Council, the Peace Corps, the Rockefeller Foundation, the IMF, the World Bank, Hollywood, the

Internet, etc. The 'Centre', the book argues, advances its own interests through financial aid and the export of material and human resources. On the other hand, there is the 'Periphery' (also capitalized and singular), which consists mainly of former colonies that are unable to distinguish what is good for them and what is not. The 'Periphery' thus ends up infused with the norms and values of the 'Centre' and languishing in a state of protracted cultural dependence. This, in turn, is a precondition for the economic exploitation and domination of the 'Periphery' by the 'Centre'. To the extent that Phillipson employs his theoretical framework to describe both the colonial and the neocolonial situations, one gets the impression that linguistic imperialism is an invulnerably closed system that is able to travel through time and across geographic space unchallenged and, indeed, unchanged. Except that history has shown time and again that any assertion of dominance is bound to elicit some form of resistance.

It is in this respect that Phillipson's paradigm appears to short-change the peripheries.3 Linguistic imperialism, according to him, works because the people involved in the promotion of English (including teachers, aid workers, government officials, policy-makers, language planners, and so on) are, for the most part, either unaware of their complicity in the evil design of the 'Centre' or are willing pawns in this intricate game of subjugation. Maintaining that the English language, more than a neutral instrument that can be used to achieve any particular need, actually carries with it the very blueprint of a hegemonic world order (Phillipson, 1992: 287), he describes a complex scenario that has the governments of the peripheries, along with the local intelligentsia, happily delivering their societies to the putative center:

> The State not only ensures that certain types of knowledge and skill are generated and reproduced in school. It also, to an increasing degree, commissions the knowledge it needs from higher education research institutions. ... Intellectual activities, such as those engaged in by researchers and educational planners, are divorced from manual work, the process of direct production. The role of the planners tends to be confined to that of purveyors of technocratic 'facts', and ideological legitimation of a particular type of society, and its forms of production and reproduction. (Phillipson, 1992: 69)

At best, one could appreciate Phillipson's suggestion that the division between center and peripheries is not as neat as one would have thought. Within a peripheral country, there may exist a similar exploitative structure that has the local elite (which includes people in government) imposing on the rest of society. Except, of course, that this center within the peripheral country is nothing more than an outpost of the foreign center. In Phillipson's own words, 'the norms, whether economic, military, or linguistic, are dictated by the dominant Centre and have been internalized by those in power in the Periphery' (Phillipson, 1992: 52).

Wittingly or unwittingly, therefore, Phillipson delivers arguments in favor of a conspiracy theory, which is welcome fodder to nationalists in peripheral countries like the Philippines. Phillipson's suggestion that ideas from the center are transferred to the peripheries through an intricately woven network of linguistic practitioners confirms the anxiety of detractors of the English language. Of course, Phillipson insists that his theory 'avoid[s] reductionism by recognizing that what happens in the Periphery is not irrevocably determined by the Centre' (Phillipson, 1992: 63). But his protestation is drowned by his own uncompromising belief in a Gramscian hegemonic structure that tricks the peripheries into destroying their own cultural legacies and supplanting them with one that permits all-out exploitation and domination by a foreign power.

## The development of Philippine English

Fortunately, there has never been a dearth of Filipino scholars that have adopted a more sober view of the persistent popularity of English in the Philippines. They recognize English as an indispensable medium of local exchange and appreciate its status as language of wider communication that enables them to participate in transnational knowledge production as active agents and not simply as objects of various theorizing. Ma. Lourdes S. Bautista, for example, documents the development of a Philippine variety of English as evidence of a successful process of language appropriation:

> Philippine English is not English that falls short of the norms of Standard American English; it is not badly-learned English as a second language, its distinctive features are not errors committed by users who have not mastered the American standard. Instead, it is a nativized variety of English that has features which differentiate it from Standard American English because of the influence of the first language (especially in pronunciation — although we should always keep in mind Strevens's distinction between accent and dialect — but occasionally in grammar), because of the different culture in which the language is embedded (expressed in the lexicon and discourse conventions), and because of a restructuring of the grammar rules (manifested in the grammar). Philippine English has an informal variety, especially in the spoken mode, which may include a lot of borrowing and code-mixing, and it has a formal variety which, when used by educated speakers and found acceptable in educated Filipino circles, can be called Standard Philippine English. (Bautista, 2000: 21)

In effect, Bautista is arguing that the much-feared transfer of norms, values, and ideology from the center to the peripheries has long ceased to be a reality in the Philippines. Her insistence on the role of culture and other locally situated variables belies any efficient manipulation of ELT to advance the hegemonic agenda of the putative center.

For their part, Bonifacio P. Sibayan and Andrew Gonzalez agree that the cultures of the peripheries have a way of frustrating the ideological thrust of the center:

> What is fascinating from a linguistic and cultural point of view are the adaptations of the language as it undergoes inculturation [sic] and the new ways in which this culturally grafted code is put to use, to thematize entirely new phenomena, realities, and events. Cultural diffusion is never pure, it results in mixtures. Whatever is received is received in the manner of the receiver, to quote an old Medieval Scholastic principle. As the code undergoes acculturation, it becomes different in many features and if left there longer, it will soon become a different code from its former source. (Sibayan and Gonzalez, 1996: 165)

Not only is the form of the transplanted language changed, therefore, but the way it is used is no longer dictated by the source culture. The prevailing conditions in the recipient culture give rise to an altogether different set of imperatives. The agents of the center can only do so much to implement their own grand design. In the end, the users of the language in the peripheries determine what normative features the transplanted language will adopt, for what purposes that language will be used, and whose ends it will ultimately

Again, observing how local imperatives have eventually influenced the lot of post-imperial English in the Philippines, Sibayan and Gonzalez make a statement in the direction of Phillipson:

> In our view, linguistic imperialism (on the use of English) in the Philippines is a thing of the past: it was a characteristic of the imperial (colonial) period. The statements on the Philippines quoted by Phillipson [in Linguistic Imperialism] on the Philippines [sic] are those made by an insignificant, biased minority. This is like flogging a dead horse. Today, Filipinos have taken over their own affairs including what to do with English. The Filipinos today are doing with English what they want to do and not from any dictation of outsiders (foreigners). (Sibayan and Gonzalez, 1996: 165)

# Philippine literature in English

For his part, Luis H. Francia uses a more combative language to underline the fact that Filipino writers in the English language are engaged in a counterhegemonic resistance to the center's incursion into the cultures of the peripheries:

In a sense, many of our Filipino writers in English are engaged in the literary equivalent of guerilla warfare, using the very same weapon that had been employed to foist another set of foreign values upon a ravished nation, but now as part of an arsenal meant for conscious self-determination and the unwieldy process of reclaiming psychic territory from the invader. (Francia, 1993: xiv)

Francia is particularly extolling the achievements of Filipino creative writers, who, in opting to describe their experiences and articulate their artistic vision in the English language, have wrested control of the signifying practice from the former colonizer. From the initial imitative attempts at literary writing in the first quarter of the twentieth century, Filipino writers in English have long matured and established their own tradition, adapting their chosen language to the unique demands of life in the Philippines. Although much is left to be desired in terms of promoting English-language Philippine writing in the country, especially among the general public, a few excellent exponents of this branch of Philippine literature have secured a place in most academic curricula, among them Manuel E. Arguilla, a master of local color, whose short stories are especially popular in high school literature classes; Nick Joaquin, whose short stories and novels highlight the deeply rooted Hispanic traditions in the Philippines that often run into conflict with American and Asian norms and values; and Jose Garcia Villa, whose controversial experimentation with language in his poetry neatly satisfies the more sophisticated requirements of English classes at universities. In short, there are creative writers, literary critics, publishers, journalists, magazine editors, English teachers, linguists, and other active agents who mediate knowledge production and transfer in the Philippines and disrupt the smooth implementation of America's hegemonic designs. Francia's description of Filipinos as 'a people continually visited by stranger after stranger, each with fixed ideas as to who we were' (Francia, 1993: xxii) was therefore valid only until Filipinos were able to indigenize English and break free from the clutches of the conspiracy outlined by Phillipson.

Describing the roots of Philippine English-language literature, the veteran writer and critic N. V. M. Gonzalez observes that 'whatever else may have resulted from this American intervention, whether inspired by hegemonic reasons or otherwise, it is the English language that appears to have made a most unique contribution to the national culture' (Gonzalez and Campomanes, 1997: 66). Gonzalez belongs to the generation of writers that carried on the pioneering work of Paz Marquez Benitez, Manuel E. Arguilla, Zoilo Galang, Maximo Kalaw, etc. and established a tradition of Englishlanguage writing in the Philippines. These writers created a branch of Philippine literature that reaches across different ethnolinguistic groups. By choosing to write in English in the 1940s and 1950s — the formative years of the republic — they helped define the contours of the emerging 'national

culture' to include not only its indigenous roots, as nationalists left to their own devices would have done, but also the legacies of more than four centuries of colonialism. Thanks to their commitment and energy, the Philippines now boasts a vibrant literature in the English language nurtured by a small but increasing number of writers, critics, and readers.

# The American standard and Philippine English

That Philippine literature in English has failed to develop a sizeable following outside academe is unfortunate enough. The problem is, however, aggravated by an improper diagnosis that puts the blame squarely on the language of choice. When Arnold Molina Azurin remarks that English has failed to become 'the medium of an authentic cultural efflorescence in the [Philippines]' and that it 'has served instead as sort of umbilical cord between the creative minds [in the Philippines] and Mother America' (Azurin, 1995: 167), he is ignoring the accomplishment of generations of Filipino writers who have claimed the English language as a legitimate vehicle of their own artistic visions. Coming two decades after Miguel Bernad's famous castigation of Philippine Englishlanguage literature as 'perpetually inchoate' (Bernard, 1961: 100), Azurin's statement is indeed an anachronism that no longer reflects the complexity of the present situation. At the core of such criticism are two fallacious notions: (1) the chosen code, being alien to the Philippines, will never be able to fully express or depict the prevailing conditions in the country and the aspirations of its people, and (2) should they insist on using English, Filipinos will have to subscribe to either the American or British standard.

The first is refuted by various scholarly works on the emergence of a distinct Philippine variety of English. Again, Bautista reviews previous studies on the nature and development of Philippine English and highlights the groundbreaking attempt by Teodoro Llamzon to define 'Standard Filipino English' as early as 1969 (Bautista, 2000: 6-7). She also presents examples of how Filipinos have transcended the limitations of American English — from the simple incorporation of indigenous lexical material into the English text (especially honorific titles such as ate for 'elder sister' and manong for 'an older man') and changes in the meaning of certain words (like salvage to mean 'kill in cold blood', a common practice of soldiers and the police during the dictatorship of Ferdinand Marcos to eliminate the more vocal members of the opposition), to the coining of new phases and idiomatic expressions (like 'dirty kitchen' meaning a second kitchen 'where the messy or real cooking is done, since the other kitchen is for show or for the few times when the owner of the house does the cooking' and 'watch-your-car boy', which, according to her, 'needs no explanation in a society where carnapping is not uncommon') (Bautista, 2000: 22-3). These linguistic strategies, together with the more literary ones developed by Filipino writers in English, counteract the criticisms of people like Isagani Cruz, who argue that English 'lacks words to express Philippine social realities', hence is inadequate as a language of Philippine literary criticism (Cruz, 2000: 51). The irony of it is that Cruz, Azurin, and their lot are only too willing to use English in making their case.

Having established the existence of standard Philippine English, one should now be able to dismiss calls to subscribe to the American or British standard as moot and superfluous. Except that the problem goes beyond a simple linguistic dilemma. More than half a century after Filipinos claimed their independence from the USA, some of them still suffer from a kind of cultural inferiority complex that prevents them from fully appreciating that which is locally produced. To be sure, this phenomenon resulted largely from the American colonial policy which held up American values, ideals, and culture as superior and worthy of emulation. Philippine criticism, for example, has had its share of apologists and self-effacing comparativists, but fortunately, there has never been a shortage of resolute Filipino voices that try to subvert this colonialist practice. Thus, writer Edith L. Tiempo strictly rejects 'sedulous aping and adoption of foreign models', even as she questions the adequacy of an introverted nationalism in dealing with the challenges of an increasingly globalized world (Tiempo, 2000: 64). In this regard, she echoes the great Nigerian writer Chinua Achebe, whose uncompromising stance on language appropriation may well serve as an inspiration to Filipino writers in English:

So my answer to the question: Can an African ever learn English well enough to be able to use it effectively in creative writing? is certainly yes. If on the other hand you ask: Can he ever learn to use it like a native speaker? I should say, I hope not. It is neither necessary nor desirable for him to be able to do so ... The African writer should aim to use English in a way that brings out his message best without altering the language to the extent that its value as a medium of international exchange will be lost. He should aim at fashioning out an English which is at once universal and able to carry his peculiar experience. (Achebe, 1993 [1975]: 433)

The writer Jose Y. Dalisay, Jr., sums it up for his fellow Filipino writers in a straightforward manner which is not without its own validity: 'language is not an issue; you use what you know; you use what's available; you use it well' (Dalisay, 1995: 115).

# Inequality and English

More serious than the allegation that English can never be made adequate to describe Philippine realities is the charge that English stratifies society, with English speakers forming an elite that enjoys a monopoly of material rewards

and in the process alienating themselves from the so-called masses. While it is true that Americans, in the early years of colonization, systematically implemented a program of training and development for a select group of Filipinos that would assist them in the gargantuan task of administering their newly acquired territory, and while it can also be argued that those Filipinos who studied in the USA and mastered the English language eventually occupied key positions not only in government but in the economy of the country as well, blaming social inequity in the Philippines on English is way too convenient and dangerous. For one thing, it absolves Filipinos of their own culpability in the matter. Certainly the deplorable quality of public education, the inegalitarian distribution of land, the limited employment opportunities, the rampant corruption in government and civil service, and the general perversion of democratic institutions are the real root of the problem. Replacing English with Tagalog, as nationalists have been insisting on, is not going to eliminate the problem. Those who already enjoy a monopoly of material resources will continue to dominate Philippine society, as they are the ones who can and will continue to afford the expensive highquality education and language training offered mostly by private institutions. Meanwhile, native speakers of Tagalog will find themselves enjoying undue advantage in addition to their geographic proximity to the center of power. This, in turn, could incite feelings of envy if not enmity from other ethnolinguistic groups and exacerbate the problem. The conflicts in the Balkans, Central Africa, and Indonesia in the recent past should remind everybody of the disagreeable consequences of nationalist policies that place certain ethnolinguistic groups at a disadvantage. The Philippines is well advised to steer clear of policies that could translate into chauvinism, interethnic animosity, and open violence. The only viable solution is to make high-quality education available and accessible to the vast majority of the population. That means more schools, better infrastructure, more attractive compensation and training programs for teachers, and a general reevaluation of school curricula and education policies. These are the real issues; these are the real challenges.

#### Conclusion

It is high time that the Philippine government re-examined its language policy and admitted that its aim to dislodge English from its privileged position in the controlling linguistic domains and make Tagalog the sole official language is a costly and divisive project, devoid of any merit save perhaps for the symbolic triumph of ridding the Philippines of another colonial legacy. Instead of waxing Romantic in anticipation of the day Filipinos would speak one indigenous language, nationalists are better off acknowledging that the culture of the Philippines is the sum total of different ethnicities, linguistic

backgrounds, and foreign influences. The integrity of Philippine society is not necessarily guaranteed by language unity, let alone by the imposition of one indigenous language which is viewed with skepticism by other ethnolinguistic groups (Hidalgo, 1998: 27-8; A. Gonzalez, 1991: 12). A more pragmatic alternative is the adoption of a two-pronged strategy that enhances the surviving indigenous languages in the country, even as it pushes for Philippine English as the primary means of communication among the different ethnolinguistic groups and as a legitimate vehicle for their visions. The nationalists' objection to English is a matter of pride — false pride. More than half a century after the Philippines claimed its independence from the USA, they are still wailing over the legacies of colonialism. N. V. M. Gonzalez put his finger on the problem as early as the mid-1970s when he admonished detractors of the English language in the Philippines to 'ask whether ... the despair is real or only an expression of ... self-flagellation' (1976: 424). It is one thing to be critical and to resist attempts to hold up one nation, race, or belief as worthy of emulation, or promote inegalitarian relations between the sexes or among different social classes. It is an entirely different matter to wallow in cultural insecurity and nationalistic paranoia. Filipino nationalists will be doing themselves a huge favor by 'put[ting] away [their] childish things'.

#### Notes

- The Biblical quotation in the title is from I Corinthians 13:11.
- All references to the constitutions of the Philippines are taken from the Chan Robles Virtual Law Library (http://www.chanrobles.com/philsupremelaw.htm).
- The author of the present chapter prefers the plural form to foreground the heterogeneity of the territories classified under the totalizing label 'Periphery' and to acknowledge their ties to other cultural centers.

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# Taglish, or the phantom power of the lingua franca

Vicente L. Rafael

#### Introduction

In her celebrated novel, *Dogeaters*, the Filipina-American mestiza writer Jessica Hagedorn begins with a memory of watching a Hollywood movie in a Manila theater in the 1950s. She evokes the pleasures of anonymous looking amid the intimate presence of foreign images and unknown bodies:

1956. The air-conditioned darkness of the Avenue Theater smells of flowery pomade, sugary chocolates, cigarette smoke and sweat. 'All That Heaven Allows' is playing in Cinemascope and Technicolor. Starring Jane Wyman as the rich widow, Rock Hudson as the handsome young gardener, and Agnes Moorehead as Jane's faithful friend, the movie also features the unsung starlet Gloria Talbott as Jane's spoiled teenage daughter, a feisty brunette with catlike features and an innocent ponytail. ... Huddled with our chaperone Lorenza, my cousin Pucha Gonzaga and I sit enthralled in the upper section of the balcony in Manila's 'Finest! First Run! English Movies Only!' theater, ignoring the furtive lovers stealing noisy kisses in the pitch-black darkness all around us.

Jane Wyman's soft putty face. Rock Hudson's singular, pitying expression. Flared skirts, wide cinch belts, prim white blouses, a single strand of delicate blue-white pearls. Thick penciled eyebrows and blood red vampire lips; the virgin pastel-pink cashmere cardigan draped over Gloria Talbott's shoulders. Cousin Pucha and I are impressed by her brash style; we gasp at Gloria's cool indifference, the offhand way she treats her grieving mother. Her casual arrogance seems inherently American, modern and enviable. (1990: 3–4)

Before the brilliantly colored images and magnified sounds of this Douglas Sirk film, the narrator, Rio, and her cousin Pucha — mestiza girls of privileged means in neo-colonial Philippine society — initially acknowledge the strangeness of the theater. Plunged in darkness, they are surrounded by odors from unknown sources and the obscured figures of lovers. But as consumers of the film, they take delight in the novelty of their surroundings, avidly

attending to the cinematic images, especially the movie stars. Absorbed in the intimate details of the stars' appearance, they recount the colors and textures of the objects on the screen. Thus they are filled with a sense of something missing in their lives. Rio and Pucha regard the stars with envy, seeing in them clues to what might lend form to their own sense of lack.

Here, looking takes on the quality of a residual religiosity. The Filipina viewers approach images from the United States as if they were devotees facing saintly icons. Seeing leads to a desire to fuse with the objects of vision, as images take on the feel of objects available for touching. By lingering over specific scenes and details, the viewers disengage themselves from the sheer narrative trajectory of the love story. As such, Rio, Pucha, and presumably their servant Lorenza are joined momentarily in their common absorption into the cinematic images.

Yet that absorption, like the sense of identification with the stars, is precisely that: momentary. Emerging from the movie, the three also emerge into the light of social differences signaled by the workings of a vernacular sensibility:

We compare notes after the movie, sipping TruColas under the watchful gaze of the taciturn Lorenza. 'I don't like her face,' Pucha complains about Jane Wyman, 'I hate when Rock starts kissing her.' 'What's wrong with it?' I want to know, irritated by my blond cousin's constant criticism. She wrinkles her mestiza nose, the nose she is so proud of because it's pointy and straight. 'Ay! Que corny! I dunno what Rock sees in her' - she wails. 'It's a love story,' I say in my driest tone of voice. ... 'It's a corny love story, when you think about it,' Pucha snorts. Being corny is the worst sin you can commit in her eyes. 'What about Gloria Talbott? You liked her, didn't you? She's so ...' — I search frantically through my limited vocabulary for just the right adjective to describe my feline heroine — 'interesting.' Pucha rolls her eyes. 'Ay! Puede ba, you have weird taste! She's really cara de achay if you ask me.' She purses her lips to emphasize her distaste, comparing the starlet to an ugly servant without, as usual, giving a thought to Lorenza's presence. I avoid Lorenza's eyes. 'She looks like a cat — that's why she's so strange and interesting.' I go on, hating my cousin for being four years older than me, for being so blond, fair-skinned and cruel. Pucha laughs in disdain. 'She looks like a cat aw-right,' she says with her thick, singsong accent. 'But if you ask me, prima, Gloria Talbott looks like a trapo. And what's more, Kim Novak should've been in this movie instead of Jane Wyman. Jane's too old,' Pucha sighs. 'Pobre Rock! Every time he has to kiss her' - Pucha shudders at the thought. Her breasts, which are already an overdeveloped 36B and still growing, jiggle under her ruffled blouse. (Hagedorn, 1990: 4)

Inside the theater, the three women find themselves addressed as anonymous viewers. They experience the movie as part of a mass audience whose prior identities count for nothing in front of the screen. Indeed, they

assume the place marked out for them by the film: viewers whose looks cannot be reciprocated by the actors and objects on the screen. They see but cannot be seen. Outside the theater, however, a different economy of looking takes place. Lorenza as the parental surrogate who is also the girls' class inferior serves as a foil for the cousins' conversation. While acknowledging her presence, they dismiss Lorenza's authority insofar as it derives from a kind of watching that sees nothing. Her silence is read as a form of deference to social hierarchy rather than a sign of potency held in reserve.

The two cousins, by contrast, voice their disagreements not so much about the meaning of the story but rather the appearance of the stars. Once again, their exchange hinges on envy as a mode of identification. Rio's fascination with the 'interesting' and catlike Gloria Talbott is ridiculed by Pucha, who disdains the actress's 'cara de achay' (servant-like face) and 'trapo' (dish rag)like appearance. Pucha regards the female stars as if they were part of a chain of substitutions that extends from Rock Hudson to herself. Rio's envy of Pucha further extends that chain, so that the former's fantasy about the actress is mediated, because constantly interrupted, by her cousin's remarks. Hence, both see themselves in relation to the stars though they may differ on the specific points of their identification. Worth noting, nevertheless, is the manner by which these differences are somatically marked. As the servant Lorenza's own cara increasingly recedes from sight, Pucha's mestiza features come into focus as the objects of envy. From the narrator's point of view, it is as if her mestiza body could retrace and thereby almost substitute for the images of the American stars themselves.

#### Mestiza envy

To understand the logic of this envy of and for mestizaness, it is useful to recall that in the Filipino historical imagination, the mestizo/a has enjoyed a privileged position associated with economic wealth, political influence, and cultural hegemony. Unlike the United States, but more like Latin America, mestizoness in the Philippines has implied, at least since the nineteenth century, a certain proximity to the sources of colonial power. To occupy the position of mestizo/a is to invoke the legacy of the ilustrados, the generation of mostly mixed-race, Spanish-speaking, university-educated nationalists, from the Chinese mestizo Jose Rizal to the Spanish mestizo Manuel Quezon — both credited with founding the dominant fictions of Filipino nationhood. Betwixt and between languages and historical sensibilities, mestizoness thus connotes a surplus of meanings as that which conjures the transition from the colonial to the national — indeed, as the recurring embodiment of that transition.

For Rio, then, to envy Pucha's fair skin, blond hair, straight nose, and 'overdeveloped 36B' breasts is equivalent to Pucha's envying of Jane Wyman's

and Gloria Talbott's access to Rock Hudson (and quite conceivably, Rock's to them). To be mestizo/a is to imagine one's inclusion in a circuit of substitutions. It is to cultivate a relationship of proximity to the outside sources of power without, however, being totally absorbed by them. In the context of neo-colonial Philippine society, such requires a heightened sense of alertness to what comes before and outside of oneself. As such, mestizoness comes to imply a perpetual and, as we shall see, privileged liminality: the occupation of the crossroads between Spain and the Philippines, Hollywood and Manila. This is clearly at work in the movie theater. Rio and Pucha seem adept at consuming cinematic images, discriminating and delineating differences among these without being wholly consumed by them. They fasten onto movie stars while dismissing the narrative, or play one star off against another like so many disposable idols. Thus is looking tinged with envy: of Pucha imagining herself in the place of Jane Wyman, Gloria Talbott, Kim Novak, or perhaps Rock Hudson; of Rio envying Pucha's capacity to be so brazenly envious of what she is not; and of Lorenza's silent presence overhearing and tacitly participating in the circulation of envy.

Here, it is as if envy drives the formulation of a certain kind of agency, one that arises from the sense of being excluded coupled with the desire to be included. The force of envy sharpens one's capacity to imagine being other than oneself, to think that one's 'I' could also be other 'I's' elsewhere beyond one's immediate setting. Predicated on envy (or what, in more politically charged moments of colonial history, would manifest itself as ressentiment escalating into the desire for revenge and revolt), mestizo/a identity is perforce split along shifting lines of identification. Such lines (like those of a train or telegraph) allow mestizos/as to travel in and out of particular social locations, linking them to those below as well as those above and outside.<sup>3</sup> Their position is analogous to and often coterminous with that of the Filipino elites. For this reason, mestizos/as (and those who come to identify with them) have historically had an ambivalent relationship with sources of power, whether the masses below or colonial rulers above. They have collaborated with one against the other at different moments, or with both at the same time. They can thus claim the privilege to solicit as well as contain the workings of power, whatever its source. And because of their dual association with the history of revolutionary nationalism and counterrevolutionary colonial regimes since the late nineteenth century, mestizos/as — whether Chinese, Spanish, or North American — have been regarded as the chief architects of the nation-state.4

We can think, then, of mestizos/as as the traces of the hybrid origins of the nation-state. But we should also recall that this hybridity seems always already organized, at least within Philippine neo-colonial society, along a social hierarchy. What pervades the scene above from Hagedorn's novel is the sense of the mestizo/a as a position from which to address the relationship between the colonial and national, the elite and popular, the outside and inside as if they were potentially substitutable yet never commensurate with one another.

In the darkened theater, the mestiza girls literally look up to watch the American stars on screen. The latter are objects of envy in that they seem so romantic in their modernity and so modern in their romance. Looking at them, the mestiza girls feel themselves to be simultaneously excluded from yet entitled to inclusion in this fantasy world. As spectators, they submit to the dominating images of the stars; yet they also show themselves capable at the end of the movie of evaluating or dismissing their appearances. The envy of and for mestizoness, therefore, has to do with its capacity to allow one to move in and out of the social hierarchy: to appear to be part of yet apart from it.

The doubleness of mestizo/a identity, however, has a linguistic dimension. In the scene above, the girls speak a mixed language popularly known in the Philippines as Taglish. Pucha, for example, talks in a combination of at least three languages: English, Spanish, and Tagalog. It is as if she moves between colonial and vernacular languages, simultaneously evoking and collapsing the hierarchical relationship between them. Her English is keyed to that of the film and so has the narrative function of ordering sense and sensation. Nonetheless, bits of Spanish and Tagalog constantly break into the stream of her English, abruptly punctuating its flow and obstructing its ability to set the terms for the production of meaning. To Rio's remarks on Gloria Talbott's 'interesting' character, Pucha exclaims, 'Ay! Puede ba, you have weird taste! She's really cara de achay if you ask me' ['Oh! Spare me. She's got the face of a maid!']. In so doing, she ironizes the hierarchy between star and viewer by breaching the divisions among English, Spanish, and Tagalog. Indeed, the ejaculatory intrusions of the latter two languages have the effect of inflecting English into a language other than itself, just as the singsong delivery of English anticipates the bursts of Spanish and Tagalog fragments in her speech. Mestizoness is the capacity, among other things, to speak in different registers, as if one's identity were overlaid and occupied by other possible ones.5

# Bakya and the prospects of overhearing

The link between mestizoness and Taglish might be better understood with reference to the historical workings of a hierarchy of languages in the Philippines. English as the legacy of US colonialism as well as postwar neocolonial relations has functioned as the language of higher education and, until the mid-1970s, the dominant medium of instruction in public and private schools. Its use is associated with the elite circles of multinational corporations, the diplomatic corps, the tourist industry, overseas labor recruitment, metropolitan newspapers of record, and the medical and legal professions; it is the chief official language of the legislative, judicial, and other policy-making bodies of the state. And English is, of course, the language of foreign movies, mostly from the United States, which continue to dominate the country's film market.

Spanish, on the other hand, has never been widely spoken or understood in the Philippines. Less than one percent of the population has ever been fluent in Spanish at any given moment in Spain's 350 years of colonial rule. Owing to the Spanish practice of converting the native populace in their local vernaculars and given the absence of a comprehensive, secular public school system throughout the Spanish regime, the learning of Spanish was limited to an elite, mostly mestizo (Chinese and Spanish) minority with access to a university education in Manila and Europe. By the later US colonial period, and more so throughout the postwar republic, Spanish became largely supplementary, a way of signaling class attachments to an ersatz, aristocratic lineage that predated US rule or reclaiming the legacy of late nineteenth-century nationalist figures.

The history of Tagalog is no less complex. As I have detailed elsewhere, Tagalog was grammatically codified and phonetically reduced to Roman characters by Spanish missionaries for purposes of translating prayers and Christian texts as early as the late sixteenth century (Rafael, 1993). Hence, Tagalog as a print language has long been infused with foreign borrowings. Latin and Spanish terms for Christian concepts with no direct equivalents in Tagalog were left untranslated, lodged as the traces of an alien presence periodically erupting into the fabric of the vernacular texts. But as the medium of conversion, Tagalog also tended to dislocate Christian-colonial meanings by supplying native hearers with an array of associations that exceeded missionary control. Tagalog betrayed, in both senses of the word, Spanish Christianity and colonialism.

To the extent that Tagalog has been used as a language for addressing a mass audience — that is, an audience required to give up its local identity in order to assume a more global one, as in the case of Christian conversion it has always been entangled in the grammar of colonial discourse and subjected to colonial control over the means of mechanical reproduction. Tagalog lent itself to the solicitation and expression of deference with its honorifics, such as ho and po to signal social and generational distance between speakers, whether these be God, government bureaucrats, Spanish friars, landlords, and so forth. But it is also important to point out that since the 1890s, Tagalog has been the focus of various nationalist concerns. Projected as the potential language of cultural authenticity with which to articulate a precolonial past with a decolonized future, Tagalog has been regarded as one site for translating the colonial order into a national one. Insofar as Tagalog could furnish the means with which to elicit the attention of a mass audience, nationalist elites, like their Spanish colonial predecessors, could imagine it as a language that might fuse the interests of those above with those below the social hierarchy across a variety of vernacular, non-Tagalog-speaking communities.

Accordingly, Tagalog was designated as the basis of the yet-to-be instituted national language (wikang pambansa) by the Commonwealth government in 1938 and again by the Japanese occupation regime in 1943. But objections by non-Tagalog speakers in the national legislature during the postwar period resulted in a series of name changes. The Philippine legislature renamed the putative national language 'Pilipino' to stress the national vocation of Tagalog. In 1973, however, the constitutional convention held under the martial law regime of Ferdinand Marcos changed this name yet again, to 'Filipino', while admitting that it was merely designating a Manila-based lingua franca that was still far from having a truly national currency. The constitution of 1986 has upheld this term to designate not so much the national language as what the national language might be called should it ever emerge. Filipino continues to be based on Tagalog with greater infusions of English and bits of Spanish rather than, as nationalist linguists had proposed as early as 1915, a fusion of all the different Philippine vernaculars. As the linguist Andrew Gonzalez has noted, the Philippines must be classed among those nations without a national language although with a non-local common language as an official code with which to conduct official transactions (1980: 155-8).7 In effect, there continues to be a lack of fit between the officially designated national language and officially conceived borders of the nation-state.

At the bottom of the linguistic hierarchy, Tagalog is the most unstable and elusive as well. Its history — from its reformalization by Spanish missionaries and its reification by the Institute of National Language into an 'archaic' and therefore 'classical' language of the country to its mutations in popular and official discourses -- suggests something of its thoroughly impure origins and highly malleable and contingent workings. Seized on by the new social movements of the 1960s - consisting of left-wing student, worker, and women's organizations — Tagalog as Pilipino or Filipino has been a popular medium for mass mobilization at political rallies in and around Manila. Outside the Tagalog-speaking regions in such cities as Cebu or Iloilo, however, English and the local vernacular continue to be the languages of political movements. Similarly, while the teaching of Tagalog grammar and literature in secondary schools has been mandated by the state since 1946, and while the Bilingual Education Policy of 1974 has provided for the use of Filipino as a medium of instruction alongside English, Tagalog has yet to replace English as the sole language of official transactions and higher education. In this sense, Tagalog cannot be thought of as a language of national identity that subsumes all other local identifications.

Yet even if Tagalog does not represent the nation, it does serve as the language of commercially driven mass media, specifically radio, television, and film. As the *lingua franca* of the mass media, Tagalog manages in fact to have a translocal reach. It does so, however, only and always in conjunction with other translocal languages: English and Spanish. Thus, it is as another kind

of language, Taglish, that Tagalog comes across as a *lingua franca*, providing the conditions for the emergence of a mass audience in the contemporary Philippines.

In the 1960s, the nationalist historian and Tagalog writer Teodoro Agoncillo wrote scornfully about Taglish, then perceived as a corruption of Tagalog. For Agoncillo, Taglish represented the dilution of Tagalog with English phrases and Spanish malapropisms. It reflected the ignorance of its speakers — in this case, largely middle-class, university-educated, English-speaking, Manila-based, postwar youth along with radio announcers and movie personalities. Comprising what we might think of as the vanguard of an emergent consumerist culture, their sensibilities were at variance with those of old guard nationalists like Agoncillo. To him, their Taglish came across as a 'bastard language' designed for the marketplace rather than the task of national unification. Taglish could only defer, according to Agoncillo, the emergence of a truly national language, one that in 'fusing' different Philippine vernaculars would merge the interests of the masses with those of the nationalist elite (Agoncillo and Guerrero, 1960: 535–6).8

For Agoncillo and other nationalists who would follow in his wake, Taglish was insufficiently 'intellectualized' and therefore illegitimate. The seemingly arbitrary conjunction of languages in Taglish meant that it defied official codification, eluding nationalist authorship and the regulatory force of state institutions such as the Institute of National Language or Bureau of Education. Since the 1940s, both had sought to standardize and administer Tagalog from above and beyond the diverse Philippine vernaculars. By contrast, Taglish seemed like the result of the promiscuous commerce of languages. It placed English, Spanish, and Tagalog as equally substitutable rather than hierarchically related.<sup>9</sup>

Taglish thus appeared to be less a single language than the constant possibility of fragmenting and recombining languages. For this reason, Taglish lent itself to, indeed was made possible by, the formation of a commercially driven popular culture. It furnished another kind of *lingua franca*, one that seemed to originate from no one in particular and so could address anyone in general. Like money, the currency of Taglish as a lingua franca depended on its capacity to provide a kind of anonymous speech with which to address a new, postwar, mass audience, one responsive to the call of market consumption.

Agoncillo's worry about Taglish is symptomatic of larger nationalist anxieties about the ability to shape the terrain of a national-popular culture and the language appropriate to it. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, nationalist attempts to contain the effects of Taglish were reflected in the urban, middle-class discourse regarding the lower classes. A new term emerged to designate this heterogeneous population: the *bakya* crowd. Coined in the early 1960s by Filipino film director and national artist Lamberto Avellana to

describe the types of audiences his serious films were explicitly *not* meant for, the bakya crowd (bakya being a reference to cheap wooden clogs) was a way for the urban intelligentsia to conceptualize its other. Jose F. Lacaba has written most instructively about the bakya as 'anything that is cheap, gauche, naive, provincial and terribly popular; and in this sense it is used more as an adjective than as a noun' (1983b: 117).<sup>10</sup>

Within the nationalist framework, the bakya appears as one version of the crowd: the depoliticized and indiscriminate mass of consumers. It is not surprising that for Lacaba, the bakya sensibility should be borne by what seemed like a perverse linguistic economy in addition to a kind of kitsch aesthetic. More specifically, it was characterized by an English full of humorous malapropisms. To recognize such bakya speech is precisely to see it as funny; but it also requires that one reproduce such speech, setting oneself apart from its ostensive speakers. <sup>11</sup> Lacaba does precisely this, retelling apocryphal stories about a movie star:

Movie idol on seeing the chandeliers at the Cultural Center: 'Wow, what beautiful chamberlains!' To a fan: 'Would you like my mimeograph?' To a waitress in a crowded, smoke-filled room: 'Please open the door. I'm getting sophisticated.' On being offered a glass of wine after a companion has replied, 'I'm afraid not': 'Me, I'm not afraid.' At the dinner table: 'Please pass the salt. My hands cannot arrive.' On seeing a black cat pass by: 'That's a bad oinment' [i.e. omen]. After singing a song that has met with appreciative applause: 'Thanks for the clap.' (1983b: 121)

Here, the fictitious movie idol displays what seems from the writer's perspective like a failed relationship to the linguistic order. In the mythical world of the bakya, every attempt to speak English is marked by mistakes. Even more significant is the idol's failure to mark her/his mistakes. It is not only the case that the bakya speaker misuses English, but that s/he is unable to recognize that fact. Misrecognition is the source of humor for Lacaba and its recognition as such the basis of his identity as a non-bakya. He sees what the bakya speaker cannot: that the latter's English isn't really English at all (because if it were, then s/he would be able to correct her/himself). Rather, it comes across as another language, one that is meant to be overheard and passed on like gossip. In repeating these stories, Lacaba positions himself as someone who has overheard something that the speaker did not intend and was not aware of. He serves as a medium for relating the fragmentation and disruption of English. Through him, readers are positioned to share in the joke: that English, like Tagalog and Spanish, is a language that can come across otherwise. Through the bakya use of English, Lacaba thus discovers the workings of Taglish.12

The delight in telling and hearing these stories that, to this day, continue to be well known among the urban elite are twofold. On the one hand, Lacaba

and those who share his position set themselves apart from the bakya crowd by signaling their knowledge of English and its difference from other languages. In so doing, they delineate their own place on the social map. Retelling these stories and so keeping them in circulation, on the other hand, provides their speakers and hearers with the opportunity to share in the pleasures of anonymous hearing. It is to imagine being in another place, hearing what was not originally meant for one and witnessing scenes of mistranslation that one can repeat but also ironically disclaim. In short, the pleasures of overhearing reproduce the effects of Taglish: moving between languages and identities without fully surrendering to any one of them.

By contrast, one who is supposedly bakya is out of place without realizing this fact. From the point of view of the urban intelligentsia, their attempts to speak English betray their superficial command of the language of authority. Instead, they are an embarrassment in that they unselfconsciously dislocate English. That is to say, they suffer from being non-ironic, failing to assume another position from which to see their disposition. To be bakya is to be stranded between aesthetic sensibilities and geographies, and by extension linguistic registers, without the means with which to represent that predicament. One indication of the negative in-between quality attributed to habakyaan (i.e. the appearance of being bakya) is its synonym in Taglish, promdical a shortened version of promdical probinsya, from the provinces. One who is bakya or promdical comes across, then, as a failed version of the urban elite. As one who is unconsciously transitional, the bakya speaker is one who speaks Taglish but thinks s/he is speaking English.

Delineating the qualities of bakya, Lacaba echoes Agoncillo's anxiety about regulating the borders of a national culture, which entails demarcating the divisions between languages. But because he comes from a younger generation of nationalist writers educated amid the confluence of mass culture and Marxist politics, Lacaba is far more alert to the possibilities for recuperating kabakyaan and mobilizing the bakya crowd for other purposes. Indeed, in a later essay, written in 1979 during the martial law period, Lacaba links the category of bakya with the more politicized one of masa, or masses (1983a). Through a consideration of the notion of the bakya, he consequently saw in Taglish and the conventions of anonymous hearing and looking it enjoins possibilities other than those presented by the marketplace.

# Ikabod and the politics of Taglish

That Taglish could be used for political purposes apart from those of reproducing social hierarchy proved to be the case by the mid-1980s. In the context of the Marcos dictatorship, where the publishing and broadcasting industries had come under either direct control or close scrutiny of the state,

the ironizing effects of Taglish proved to be a rich and popular resource for marking oneself off from the regime. Because it is a kind of speech that can signal one's ability to overhear and see anonymously, Taglish became the preferred idiom of popular dissent. Especially in the period following the assassination of Benigno 'Ninoy' Aquino in 1983 and culminating in the People Power Revolt of 1986, urban discourse critical of the Marcoses took the form of puns, jokes, and assorted wordplay on the regime's pronouncements and the names of its leaders. Elsewhere, I have discussed the explosion of political humor during this period (Rafael, 1986). What is worth noting here is the role of Taglish in furnishing the means for evading the pressures of the linguistic hierarchy that, at certain points, broached the possibility of reconfiguring the social order.

One way of getting a sense of the political uses to which Taglish was put during this period is to take a look at the work of the most popular Filipino cartoonist of this time, Nonoy Marcelo. Already well known for his comic strip Tisoy (the Taglish term for mestizo), which dealt with the lives of urban youth in the mid- to late 1960s, Marcelo created a new series beginning in the early 1980s entitled Ikabod. As political allegory, the strip was set in a country called Dagalandia (literally Ratland) with its capital at Keso City (Cheese City, a play on Quezon City), where the currency was called kesos (pesos). Populated by characters drawn as rats, ants, cats, pigs, frogs, and bats, Dagalandia became a site for parodying the claims of the Marcos regime. Marcelo's use of Taglish permitted him to double code the dialogue of the characters in ways that deflected even as it acknowledged the regime's power to regulate discourse.

For example, in a cartoon drawn at the end of 1983, two male rats greet each other with 'Merry Crises-mas!' Overhearing this allusion to the regime's problems, the officious cat, Bos Myawok, orders them to stop dwelling on the 'crisis-crisis' and instead exchange greetings like 'Happy New Year or something like dat?!?' To which the rats reply, 'Nineteen eighty poor 'pre!' (Marcelo, 1987: 196).

Through Taglish, one becomes party to a scene of hearing someone who has arrogated to himself the sole right to overhear, thereby seeing what was not meant to be seen. The Marcos regime's attempt to hide its economic profligacy and contain rumors about its ill-gotten wealth is exposed with a remarkable economy of words: 'Merry Crises-mas!' and 'Nineteen eighty poor'.

In another similarly subtle attempt to reverse and displace the regime's control over the dissemination of news, Lolo Umboy, the grandfather rat, tells Bos Peter, the local ruler of Keso City, about the 'good news and the bad news' for the coming year. Lolo Umboy: 'First da good news — lahat halos ng ibabalita ng mga jaryo ay good news!!!' ('the newspapers will report nothing but good news!!!'). Bos Peter: 'Yhehay!!!' Lolo: 'Ang [the] bad news — lalong walang maniniwala sa mga jaryo!!!' ('the newspapers will become even less believable!!!'). Shifting between English, Tagalog, and Tagalized Spanish, Lolo



Figure 6.1 "Merry Christmas!" (Nonoy Marcelo, *Ikabod* [Manila: Solar Publishing House, 1987])

Umboy disrupts the flow of official speech and drives Bos Peter into a glum silence. Taglish has the effect of exposing the disparity between *jaryo* and news, between what is said and what is believed. *Ikabod*, then, suggests that the really good news may be the bad news: that we know that we don't know and so can begin to see what has been kept from us.

The art historian Alice G. Guillermo writes in her introduction to Marcelo's collected cartoons that their:

comic appeal lies in Nonoy Marcelo's play with words. His wordplay centers primarily on the Filipino use of English, which in his characters reveals a cultural alienation. It is in his spelling of Pilipino-English that the cartoonist also conveys cultural incongruity stemming from the use of a language basically unfamiliar to the masses: bes preng [best friend], wa-es [wise], donkworry [don't worry], wassamata? [what's the matter?], wajawang? [what do you want?], dasbitor! [that's better!]. He has coined words which have become integrated into the vocabulary such as jeprox [hippie]. He has used swardspeak (gay lingo): 'Say mo?' ['What do you say to that?']. He has put words together: 'Weno?!' for '0 ... e ano?!' ['Well, so what?'] the better to catch authentic intonation. Or he has jumbled his terms: the serious 'colonial mentality' becomes the comic 'mental colony'. (Marcelo, 1987: 3–4)

That comic effect should be linked to 'cultural alienation' has to do precisely with the capacity of Taglish to reproduce a scene of translation that involves distancing oneself from a hierarchy of signification. As with Lacaba's attempt to reproduce and ironize bakya English, Marcelo's strips defamiliarize English, Tagalog, and Spanish. Marcelo highlights the ability of Taglish to peel away from the grammatical and social contexts of English, Spanish, and Tagalog, juxtaposing them instead in a relation of constant interruption.<sup>13</sup> As

such, the speaker and reader of Taglish participates in a surprising conjunction of languages in ways that produce new constellations of meaning. In this way, s/he begins to disengage her/himself from the discursive grip of the state and approximates the mestizo/a's ability to peel away from what comes from the outside. But whereas the mestiza cousins in Hagedorn's novel avail of Taglish in order to distance themselves both from the totalizing grip of a Hollywood cinematic narrative and the undifferentiated masses in the theater in the late 1950s, the mestizo/as in Marcelo's comic strips of the 1980s speak in Taglish as a way of announcing their alliance, however tentatively broached, with a new mass politics. We can see this in the following cartoon, where two presumably working-class male rats demonstrate behind the ranks of mestiza rats:

KADO: Let's make baka, don't be takot!!! [Let us struggle, don't be afraid!!!]

FRIEND: 'Tong si Kado, oo! Magdedemo lang namimili pa ng mga kasama — ang type pa ... byutyus colegialas! [Can you believe this Kado! He's going to demonstrate but he needs to have companions that are his type ... beautiful convent schoolgirls!]

SCHOOLGIRLS' PLACARD: Na itsahan ka! [They put one over on you; this is a play on the pro-Aquino slogan, 'Hindi ka nag-iisa!' ('You are not alone')]



Figure 6.2
'Let's make baka, don't be takot!!!'
(Nonoy Marcelo, *Ikabod* [Manila: Solar Publishing House, 1987])

In this cartoon, a radical cry from the 1960s, 'Makibaka, Huwag Matakot!' ('Fight! Don't be afraid!'), is transposed into Taglish and linked to the rise of a middle-class feminist movement alongside the complex coalitions of causeoriented groups mobilizing against the Marcoses. The conditions of anonymous looking and hearing characteristic of the marketplace are here transposed to the streets as the two male rats find themselves addressed by the marching mestizas, following their lead and taking on their speech. 'Their' speech, however, is already the result of a prior translation that in turn recalls another historical moment: the student movement of the 1960s and the women's organization from that same period called the Malayang Kilusan ng Bagong Kababaihan (Independent Movement of New Women) or MAKIBAKA. Marcelo's strip becomes a social hieroglyph where the conjunction and reinscription of languages constitute dense layers of historical associations articulated in novel public settings. In this context, Taglish opens a route to recuperating a past as much as it seeks to unsettle the circulation of signs and division of classes in the present.

Taglish as a *lingua franca* of dissent multiplies sense as much as it calls attention to the sensuousness of translation, here understood as the reciprocal interruption of languages. One speaks and hears not just a surplus of referents; one also senses the audible, material workings of translation as one shuttles between languages spoken in a mode of exclamatory urgency. The multiple exclamation marks that punctuate *Ikabod*'s dialogues suggest a kind of frenzy, even delirium, as the tone most appropriate to Taglish. Such urgency was partially a response to the Marcoses' attempts at co-opting Taglish through their monopoly of the mass media. Hence, Marcelo's linguistic inventiveness, such as the contraction of words, reversal of phrases, and coining of new expressions — skills associated with the rhetoric of advertising — becomes a tactic for maneuvering around the regime's attempts at dominating the lingua franca.

In reading these strips, one senses how Taglish between 1983 and 1986 had been politicized by being made to stand outside the hierarchy of languages. Taglish took on a radically public character and was reworked into an arena of uneven and ongoing translations. Owned by no one, yet potentially accessible to everyone, Taglish seemed capable of appearing anywhere: in the marketplace, on the streets, in comic strips, and among Filipino overseas communities. *Ikabod* was but one example among many of the deployment of Taglish in the mobilization of a mass audience for mass action. By February 25, 1986, masses of people would take to the streets, congregating on Epifanio de los Santos Avenue (EDSA) in front of the military camps Crame and Aguinaldo, driven there in part by the disembodied voices of the Chinese mestizo Cardinal Sin broadcasting from Radio Veritas and the mestiza American actress June Keithley on the underground station Radio Bandido. That Sin and Keithley spoke in English mattered less than the fact that their

voices were overheard, intercepted by an audience that had become steeped in the techniques of interrupting the circulation of signs from above. By responding to these voices, they showed themselves alert to the workings of Taglish.

# Movies and the lingua franca

In the aftermath of the EDSA revolt and initial euphoria surrounding the Cory Aquino presidency, the forces of a pre-martial law oligarchy eventually reasserted themselves. After halfhearted negotiations, Aquino moved swiftly to brutally repress the Left, especially through the use of vigilante death squads, while repulsing and finally containing the right-wing forces of the military by putting down several coup attempts. Subsequent national and local elections have resulted in the restoration of what Benedict Anderson (1995) has referred to as 'cacique democracy' in the Philippines. Concurrently, there has emerged a climate of cultural conservatism most evident in the reassertion of Catholic moralism under Sin and Aquino, the spread of Protestant fundamentalism, particularly among younger members of the middle class, and the rehabilitation of the Marcoses, both the living and dead, culminating in their return to the fold of Manila's elite circles within the first year of Fidel Ramos's term. A flurry of natural disasters from floods to the eruption of Mt. Pinatubo, coinciding with the dismantling of the Clark and Subic military bases, the breakdown of energy-generating infrastructures leading to frequent and massive brownouts, and the mounting indebtedness to the World Bank and IMF, have all led to further shrinking of economic prospects for many Filipinos, driving hundreds of thousands to seek overseas employment so that the export of labor, mostly female, now constitutes the largest source of dollar revenues for the country.

By the 1990s, whatever democratizing promise the EDSA revolt held out has long been extinguished. The return of cacique democracy has also meant the containment of mass politics away from the scenes of its emergence and in the direction of the new sites of popular gatherings: the new and enormous shopping malls of metro Manila. Perhaps it is not too far-fetched to suggest that the latter period of Aquino's regime will be remembered as the era of the mega-malls, when a consumerist ethos managed to substitute the privatized, tightly policed, air-conditioned, and brownout resistant spaces of Robinson's and SM for the communal exhilaration and confrontational politics of EDSA and Mendiola, the street that led to Malacañang.

In these malls, people find themselves joined by the common activity of looking at commodities. Their identity as consumers, like their identity as citizens, is premised on their ability to overhear and so translate the call of that which lies beyond and before them. Yet, in responding to the allure of

consumption, they defer to a *lingua franca* now rendered inseparable from the commodity context of its appearance. Not surprisingly, then, the political energy unleashed by the lingua franca has been contained and redeployed in order to project the realm of commodities as the matrix of public culture. Put another way, Taglish has lately become the means for depoliticizing social relations, conflating the allure of mestizoness with the voice of the commodity. To get a sense of the changing role of Taglish in the post-EDSA period, we might turn to one of the most widely consumed commodities in the country, a commodity that is also one of the most powerful sites for the reproduction of mestizoness: Filipino movies.

From their inception in the first decade of the US colonial period, Filipino movies have always been market driven. State subsidies were by and large nonexistent so that there is, in fact, hardly any tradition of independent filmmaking in the Philippines. The rare exceptions, such as the works of Kidlat Tahimik or Nick de Ocampo, have been made with outside, usually European funding. Instead, a handful of family-owned companies have historically dominated the production and distribution of films. At the same time, the market for Filipino films has tended to be constricted. The industry has been forced to compete with foreign, principally Hollywood movies on a limited number of screens. It is also taxed heavily by the government and compelled to pay steep tariffs on imported film stock, placing severe restrictions on the amount of film that can be exposed per movie. And because it is dependent on outmoded equipment, from cameras to processing facilities, Filipino movies often fail to meet the technical standards required for international, non-Filipino circuits of distribution. To maintain a level of profitability, local films tend to bank on formulaic plots: melodramas, action, and comedy genres, or what middle-class urban critics derisively call iyakan, bakbakan, tawanan (all crying, all fighting, all laughing). And most important of all, Filipino films rely on a stable of movie stars instantly recognizable by a mass public.14

The material and commercial conditions of filmmaking thus tend to give Filipino movies a certain insularity. While a handful of films are regularly shown at international venues (while doing poorly at the local box office), the overwhelming number of movies made are explicitly for a Filipino mass audience, which since the late 1970s, has also come to include a sizable migrant and immigrant viewership abroad.<sup>15</sup>

Within the Philippines itself, the practices of filmgoing have long been class rather than gender specific. In the current marketing idiom, audiences are thought to be divided into categories. At the top are the 'As' and 'Bs': discerning, educated, urban, and economically well-off audiences fluent in English who watch mostly Hollywood movies and the occasional 'quality' Filipino film that may have garnered some kind of international reputation. Below this are the 'C' and 'D' audiences or what in the 1970s would have been called the bakya crowd: less-educated viewers with lower incomes and of

humbler, perhaps provincial origins. While attracted to Hollywood blockbusters, these audiences tend to prefer Filipino films.

The hierarchy of viewership is aligned with a linguistic hierarchy as well. 'A' and 'B' audiences watch movies in English, thereby signifying their proximity to outside sources of knowledge and the larger networks of power to which they are attached. As with the mestiza cousins in Hagedorn's novel, such viewers constitute their identity at the interstices of the 'foreign' film and 'local' context of their exhibition. As such, they locate themselves as privileged receivers of signs and meanings that come from elsewhere while remaining distanced from the full weight of their demands. Their access to English is an indication of their place on the social map as part of, yet apart from, a hierarchy of languages.

By contrast, 'C' and 'D' audiences gravitate toward movies in Taglish, the lingua franca of Filipino movies. In the theater, they, too, place themselves in a position to overhear and observe fragments of languages and scenes that lie beyond and above their immediate situation without themselves being seen or wholly implicated. At the same time, they are reminded of the limits of such imaginings. It is not only the visual quality of local films — the flat lighting, dullness of color, and outlines of images that lend a two-dimensional, surface-like quality to most local movies — that make them identifiable as Filipino. More important in setting Filipino movies apart from other films is the use of Taglish. In its particular articulation of languages as both hierarchically ordered and arbitrarily configured, Taglish has the effect of maintaining viewers within the borders of the existing social imaginary.

Two films from 1993 serve to illustrate the simultaneously disruptive and constraining workings of Taglish. These are *Makati Avenue Office Girls* and *Maricris Sioson: Japayuki*, both produced by one of the largest production companies in the Philippines and featuring well-known movie stars. <sup>16</sup> In the first film, Taglish serves to organize the signifying economy of the workplace and home. Set in metro Manila's financial district and the well-tended houses of mestizo elites, the film's appeal lies in its invitation to witness scenes of the lifestyles of the rich yet miserable. It is also typical in its use of Taglish for demarcating lines of authority that separate managers from workers and parents from children. Two scenes exemplify such operations. First, a fragment of a scene at an office, where a rich manager, Corrine, played by Maricel Laxa, speaks with her secretary, Edith, as a male co-manager looks on:

EDITH: Ma'am?

CORRINE: Edith, ano ba ang mga appointments ko for today? [Edith, what are my appointments for today?]

EDITH: Mamayang five ho, kay Mr. Santos. Yung dinner n'yo ho at seven sa bahay ng brother ninyo. At saka tumawag nga pala si Mr. Mayoralgo.

Inireremind ho kayo sa dinner party mamaya. Huwag ho daw kayo malelate at para daw sa inyo 'yon. [Later, at five, you have an appointment with Mr. Santos. Then dinner at your brother's house at seven. And Mr. Mayoralgo called. He's reminding you of the dinner party. He says you shouldn't be late since it is for you.]

CORRINE: Okay. Icancel mo na lang yung kay Mr. Santos. [Just cancel the appointment with Mr. Santos.]

MALE CO-MANAGER: Ano? Kinancel mo na naman? [What? Cancel again?]

CORRINE: Huwag kang mag-aalala. May crush sa akin 'yun. Hindi tayo titigilan no'on. [Don't worry. He's got a crush on me. He won't let go of us.]

While Edith the secretary speaks Taglish, she does so as someone who acknowledges her place relative to Corrine with the Tagalog honorifics 'ho' and 'po' that intersperse her speech (and that elude translation into English). In addition, she qualifies her assertions and reminders with the particle 'daw', signifying that what she says are not her words but something she has overheard and is now compelled to pass on. Hence, while the conjunction of Tagalog and English allows Edith to communicate with Corrine, it also signals the social distance between them.

Edith's position is one who speaks only to the extent that she acknowledges her words to have a prior origin and destination other than herself. Corrine, by contrast, dispenses with Tagalog honorifics altogether so that her speech seems bereft of deference. It is as if she could speak to and for anyone. We can see this sense of a self-directed speech not only at the office but at home, when Corrine talks with her parents. In this scene, they argue over her parents' wish to require her fiancè, Philip, to sign a prenuptial agreement:

CORRINE: I can't give this to him.

DAD: Bakit hindi? Wala namang masamang nakasulat diyan. [Why not? There's nothing wrong with it.]

MOM: At saka pumirma din sa ganyang arrangement si Stella bago sila kinasal ni Robbie. [And besides, Stella signed a similar agreement before she was married to your brother Robbie.]

CORRINE: Ma, pero babae si Stella. At saka she wouldn't care less kung hindi siya makakuha ng kayamanan kay Robbie because her family is richer than our family. [But Ma, Stella is a woman. And she wouldn't care less if she doesn't get any of Robbie's money.]

DAD: This is for your own protection, Corrine.

Taglish, or the phantom power of the lingua franca 119

CORRINE: Maiinsulto si Philip, Papa. [Philip will feel insulted, Papa.]

DAD: Bakit nagiging masyado kang emotional pagdating sa dokumentong ito? [Why do you get so emotional when it comes to this document?]

MOM: Bert, let me handle this. Hija, we're not questioning the love you have for each other. I think Philip is a wonderful guy. He's intelligent, he's sensitive ...

CORRINE: Then why do we have to sign a prenuptial agreement? MOM: Dahil wala tayong masisiguro sa buhay natin. ... We're only after your protection. [Because we cannot be sure of anything in our lives.]

DAD: Look what happened to your Tita Lydia.

CORRINE: Okay, I'll think about it.

MOM: Next week na ang kasal mo. [Your wedding is already next week.]

CORRINE: Then I have a week to think about it.

DAD: I'll make it easier for you. If Philip doesn't sign this agreement, at magpakasal pa rin kayo, kami na ang gagalitin mo. [... and you still decide to get married, then it is us who you will anger.]

Taglish as a means for dramatizing Corrine's predicament raises the specter of an agonistic relationship with the figures of authority. Yet that possibility is domesticated along the axis of generation (will she defy her parents and so displace their will?). While Corrine speaks to her parents as if she could speak for them and thereby take their place, she does so only in the privacy of their home. For audiences, to overhear this exchange is to understand that it was not meant to be overheard. Such is what makes the scene compelling: it shows what otherwise would remain hidden. But to watch this scene is also to assume the position of Edith, the secretary, whose inclusion in the *lingua franca* is premised on her deference to the sites of its production. Taglish as a lingua franca of dissent becomes the monopoly of a certain class. And while their words may be overheard and intercepted by an anonymous audience, it is also an audience whose presence need not be recognized or deferred to.

The possibility, of course, existed that at certain points such an audience may want to be recognized. Like the cousins in *Dogeaters*, or Corrine in the movie, they, or at least some of them, may want to approximate if not substitute for what they see. As such, and under certain conditions, they might take the linguistic mobility and conjunctural identity afforded by Taglish somewhere else, outside the movie theater and shopping mall.

The post-EDSA possibility of disrupting the regulated disruption encoded in Taglish is frequently raised in a number of contemporary movies, only to be contained. The dialectics of overhearing comes across, for example, in the figure of the *bakla*, the petit bourgeois male homosexual who frequently appears in small roles in many Filipino films. The Filipino film critic Emmanuel Reyes has noted that the bakla in Philippine cinema is often the source of comedy, usually articulated in terms of homophobic rage. Typically, baklas are portrayed as those 'unable to control their sexual urges; they cannot be disciplined which makes them a threat; ... and since they defy social conventions, [baklas] are in a position to blurt out the most outrageous remarks in a movie' (1989: 58–9).<sup>17</sup>

Baklas are, as such, expected to be the source of shock effects inasmuch as they embody the novel conjunctions of signs. In their capacity to disrupt and so reveal the arbitrariness of linguistic and gender hierarchies, they seem to project the permanent possibility of Taglish emerging anywhere and suddenly. In this sense, the bakla would also approach the position of the mestizo/a whose identity is poised between languages. As we have seen, mestizoness, whether male or female, rests on this capacity to invoke the phantasm of translation — the sense of moving between languages — and therefore induce the desire for alterity: to be someone and someplace else. To be mestizo is, for this reason, to be an object and carrier of envy.

The bakla, however, is stereotypically cast in movies as one who has a hysterical rather than historical relationship with the *lingua franca*. As the site of linguistic slippage that is also immediately the confusion of sexual difference, the bakla images the unregulated disruption of hierarchy. Whereas the mestizo/a derives his/her privileged position from his/her ability to speak in the place of what comes from outside, the bakla is made to figure the consequences of indiscriminately speaking out of place. In this sense, the bakla is a kind of mestizo parody.

We can see this attempt to situate the bakla as the source of negative alterity in a scene from *Maricris Sioson: Japayuki*, a film that tells the story of a Filipina entertainer brutally murdered in Tokyo by her Japanese employers. In one scene, Maricris is rehearsing a dance number with other Filipina recruits prior to their departure for Japan. The instructor is bakla. He interrupts the rehearsal and addresses the women in a state of considerable agitation:

BAKLA: Gretchen, patayin mo muna. Mga loka kayo. Ilang linggo na nating ginagawa ito? Ano ba naman yan? Kaunti namang lambot ng inyong katawan. Kaunti lang, parang awa niyo na. Pupunta kayo sa Japan para maging dancers, para magsayaw, hindi para maging executives. Kaya dapat bawat kilos ng inyong katawan at bawat lantik ng inyong mga daliri at bawat pungay ng inyong mga mata ay importante. The end all and be all ng lahat ng mga

dinadakdak ko dito ay entertainment na ibinibigay ninyo sa mga lalaki doon sa audience. Saka ito, ha, tandaan ninyo ito. Itanim niyo sa kokote niyo: Magsasayaw kayo sa Japan hindi para ipromote ang cultural heritage ng Pilipinas. Hayaan niyong iba na ang gumawa noon. Magpupunta kayo sa Japan para ipromote ang commercial and entertainment value of Filipina women! Kayo 'yon, gaga, kayo 'yon, naintindihan ninyo? Kaya naman, kaunti namang landi! Kaunting projection! Kaunting giling! O, ano, naintindihan niyo? Janette, from the top!

[Gretchen, turn that off for a second. You idiots! How many weeks have we been doing this? What's with you? Just a little more suppleness. Just a little more, I beg of you. You're going to Japan to be dancers, to dance, not to be executives. That's why each movement of your body, of your fingers, of your eyes is important. The end all and be all of everything I've been yammering about here is entertainment that you're going to be giving to the men in the audience. And this, ha, remember this. Plant this in your heads: you're going to be dancing in Japan not in order to promote the cultural heritage of the Philippines. Let others do that. You're going to Japan in order to promote the commercial and entertainment value of Filipina women! That's you, you idiots, that's you! Do you understand? That's why you've gotta be more flirtatious! A bit more projection! And more sexy movements! Do you understand? Janette, from the top!]

The blatantly misogynist drift of this passage, in particular the characterization of the women as commodities rather than icons of 'cultural heritage', places the bakla in the position of a bugaw, or pimp. Yet the frenzied delivery of his words is met with silence. The camera pans the women's faces as they teeter between amusement and mild discomfort. As such, they appear to defer to the bakla instructor even as they dismiss the meaning of his words. Thus do they implicitly disentangle themselves from their ascribed 'commercial and entertainment value'. That they do not protest and instead return to rehearse suggests that what they heard in the bakla's speech was something else. We might think of it as the sound of envy, the sense in the bakla of wanting to become other than what he is. In this way, they hear by overhearing, attending to him as if he were a mestizo with access to other circuits of exchange.

But this is, in fact, the last that we see of the bakla instructor. As with most other Filipino movies, baklas are not the stars of the story but serve as ephemeral players. The rest of the film focuses on the travails of Maricris and the attempts of Filipina feminists to investigate the circumstances of her death. The movie ends with her performance of a 'sexy dance', presumably learned from the bakla instructor, as the film's credits roll. Whatever she heard from the bakla in, and despite, his misogynist rantings she seems to have taken on. While she heard the bakla, however, she does not identify with him. Instead, Maricris, as played by the popular star Ruffa Gutierrez, fashions herself into

an object of desire rather than one of ridicule. She becomes a locus of envy (though for different reasons) for both men and women, even as her story is meant to have a cautionary effect. Such is because Ruffa the movie star exceeds the character Maricris. Her identity as a star lies precisely in the ways in which no single appearance can ever exhaust her appeal but can only lead audiences to want to see more of her.

The bakla, by contrast, is only and always a bakla. His class position coupled with his sexual ambiguity places him on the margins of mestizoness as its perverse double. The bakla, in this sense, recalls the bakya speaker of English as one whose desire is out of place, as evidenced by the inability to speak correctly. But where the bakya suffered from a lack of irony, the bakla is excessively ironic. As one who cannot be spoken of as a 'he' or 'she', the figure of the bakla is a way of recalling what must be repressed en route to speaking the lingua franca. Just as the bakya speaker's English had to be retailed in order to be set off from the speech of an urban intelligentsia, the bakla version of Taglish, called swardspeak, periodically recurs in movies (and other mass media) so as to be cast apart from mestizo discourse. In this way, the recurrence of the bakla, especially in the form of swardspeak, is one way of intimating the limits of Taglish in the Post-EDSA era: the point where its interruptive spread needs to be represented in order to be suppressed.<sup>18</sup> And the special medium for carrying out this double movement is the movie star. For it is the star who embodies the site for the merging of Taglish with mestizoness as a set of images, the consumption of which serves to distance the viewer from the specter of the uncontrollable speech of the bakla, even as the bakla figures the desire to be like a movie star.

#### Conclusion

Taglish in contemporary movies, then, functions to domesticate the crowd into consumers receptive to the alternating invocation and revocation of linguistic hierarchy. Movies routinize the shock of hearing and speaking otherwise. In consuming such films, audiences buy into the pleasures of anonymous hearing and seeing. But in doing so, they give in to the reified version of anonymity. That is, they experience it in the mode of envy for those who appear most fluent in Taglish yet, unlike the baklas or bakyas, are capable of ordering its circulation: the movie star. Indeed, Filipino films would never survive financially without well-known names. The sight of stars is avidly awaited in networks of publicity such as gossip sheets, personal appearances, talk shows, and even the occasional political scandal. It is the stars who become the focus of audience interests, and movies are vehicles for anticipating their recurring appearances.

Movie stars in the Philippines are almost always mestizo/as, and even those who may not have started out as such, as for example famed singer/actress Nora Aunor, take on the aura of mestizoness once they achieve mass recognition (see Almario, Quijano de Manila, Chou Alias, and Daza in Guerrero, ed., 1983). Their glamour<sup>19</sup> has both a historical resonance, as we have seen, as well as a linguistic component. As stars, actors and actresses come to typify the very elite audiences that are least inclined to watch Filipino movies, the 'A' and 'B' crowd. Hence, within the logic of the market, the identity of the 'C' and 'D' viewers can only derive from their envy of 'A' and 'B' audiences. Such envy is sublimated by their consuming interest in movie stars. Through stars, audiences are invited to share in the phantasm of translation that entails the nimble negotiation of linguistic registers and the social domains they imply. Constructed as privileged sites for the intersection of mestizoness with Taglish, movie stars conjure the phantom power of the lingua franca. In consuming images of movie stars, audiences submit to that power and so participate in, if not actively desire, the reproduction of a mestizo/a social order.<sup>20</sup>

#### Notes

- 1. My remarks on the workings of classical notions of film spectatorship in the erasure of social differences for the sake of producing a 'national' audience attuned to a culture of consuming images are indebted to Hansen (1991), especially chap. 3. I am also indebted to Benjamin (1969).
- 2. See Wickberg (March 1964, 1965). See also the brilliant novels of Jose Rizal, *Noli Me Tangere* (1887) and *El Filibusterismo* (1891); and for a succinct historical overview of the formation of the mestizo elite, see Anderson (1995).
- 3. For an elaboration of the question of envy and revenge, especially as it arises from a felt sense of exclusion from the upper reaches of colonial society among Filipino ilustrado men, see Rafael (1999).
- 4. Here, it is important to note that the Filipino nation-state conjured by mestizos/as, especially those with Chinese ancestry, has historically involved regarding the Chinese as a foreign, albeit essential element in the national order. For the odd place of the Chinese in contemporary Philippine life, see Hau (1999). For a series of essays that explicate the role of mestizo qualities in the history of the Philippine Revolution, see Joaquin (1977).
- 5. For late nineteenth-century examples of mestizo uses of Taglish more specifically, the mixing of Tagalog and Spanish see the two great novels of the Chinese mestizo national hero of the Philippines, Rizal, Noli Me Tangere and El Filibusterismo. The political stakes of Taglish in this case were, of course, far different from those contained in the work of New York-based Filipina author Jessica Hagedorn.
- 6. See Rafael (1993) for a fuller discussion of the languages of Spanish colonial rule.
- Also useful is the special issue of Solidarity on the future of English in the Philippines, reprinted as Conzalez, ed. (1988). What is abundantly obvious in all

- these discussions on language is that like the nineteenth-century ilustrados and the Spanish clerical authorities before them, Filipino elites remain invested in the maintenance of a linguistic hierarchy as a way of regulating the social hierarchy.
- 8. Oddly, Agoncillo readily slipped into Taglish himself during interviews and most likely while teaching his classes at the University of the Philippines; see Ocampo (1995). Indeed, as I have argued in connection with the workings of rumor in chapter 4 of Rafael (2000), it is possible to see a kind of Taglish sensibility in Agoncillo's books, as in the case of his two-volume account of the Japanese occupation of the Philippines, The Fateful Years: Japan's Adventures in the Philippines, 1941–1945 (1966).
- 9. See, for example, the essays in Gonzalez, ed. (1988). That Taglish seems to elude official codification does not mean that it is wholly carnivalesque. It is possible to render a formal account of Taglish grammar and syntax apart from its sociohistorical uses. What is instructive, however, is the relative disinterestedness or seeming inability of Filipino academics and officials to do so. As will become apparent below, the codification of Taglish in recent years has been most effectively carried out by the market, especially in the film and advertising industries. I thank James Clifford for pushing me to clarify this matter.
- 10. This essay has been widely anthologized in college textbooks on Filipino culture.
- 11. The mimetic response of the middle class to bakya speech recalls here the mimicking of native servants' speech by American women in chapter 2 of Rafael (2000). The stakes in such a move, however, could not be more different, as we shall see below.
- 12. We can see contemporary manifestations of bakya English and its capacity to invoke interest, and so serve as the basis for a politics of dis-identification, in the stories and jokes regarding the career of Joseph 'Erap' Estrada, once a popular action star in Filipino films of the 1950s to 1970s and the thirteenth president of the republic of the Philippines. These jokes have been collected in the national best-seller, ERAPtion: How to Speak English without Really Trial (1994), and fully endorsed by Estrada himself as a calculated attempt to boost his popularity.
- 13. One historical precedent for this sort of linguistic practice premised on the interruption of a second language by a first (and vice versa) can be seen in the literature of ladino writers from the seventeenth century, such as Tomas Pinpin, discussed in Rafael (1993), especially chapter 2.
- 14. For useful accounts of the history of the Filipino film industry, see del Mundo, Jr. (1998); Reyes (1989); Lacuesta, ed. (1997); and the essays in del Mundo, Jr., ed. (1986). See also the essays in Guerrero, ed. (1983). Also informative are Infante (1991) and Cruz (1984). I am grateful to Enrique Bonus for providing me with these sources. It is instructive to note how Philippine cinema is doubly localized by the fact that there has been to date almost no foreign, especially from the United States, scholarship on Filipino cinema.
- 15. The different conditions of the exhibition and consumption of Filipino movies, as they travel from a national to a diasporic audience, are reproduced in film or video formats, and are encountered in metro Manila mega-malls or the smaller, ghettoized spaces of video stores in ethnic strip malls in the United States, is a subject that needs to be explored at greater length and requires a separate essay.
- 16. Both movies were produced by Regal Films. The first was written and directed by Jose Javier Reyes, the second by the popular writer Lualhati Bautista and directed

- by Joey Romero. My choice of these films is, in the end, arbitrary. They seemed to typify a range of Filipino movies that I had seen between 1994 and 1996, and they were easily accessible to me through a local Filipino video rental place in San Diego, California, where I live.
- 17. See also David (1990: 88–93). Also useful for an understanding of the historical specificity of Filipino gay culture are the essays by Manalansan (1995) and Cannell (1995). See also Garcia and Remoto, eds. (1994).
- 18. It is useful to note that in the contemporary Philippines, the bakla is not the only figure pressed into the service of representing so as to repress the disruptive possibilities of Taglish. There is also the figure of the mestiza colegiala, or conventeducated young woman (specifically from the Assumption school), whose Taglish has been the subject of numerous parodies in the press as well as in academic and elite circles. Her sense of privilege is often seen to result in ignorance, reflected in her inability to speak proper Tagalog and thus her need to resort to Taglish. The tone of the parodies, however, is for the most part laced with envy for precisely the class privileges associated with her speech. As we saw in the *Ikabod* example, this gives the colegiala Taglish a certain erotic allure.
- 19. The Oxford English Dictionary notes that glamour, the power to enchant or bewitch with physical beauty, is etymologically related to gramarye, that is, magic or necromancy, by way of grammar from the old French gramaire, learning.
- 20. That movie stars and media celebrities, beginning with actor Joseph 'Erap' Estrada, now comprise the newest generation of political elites in the Philippines should come as no surprise, given the preceding discussion on their role as the locus for the dissemination of a language of national longing that is simultaneously the echo of capitalist desire. And as we saw in the previous chapter, many of the conditions for the reception of stars into politics had already been laid out with the emergence of Imelda and Ferdinand Marcos in the public eye in the mid-1960s.

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# Part II Linguistic Forms



# Linguistic diversity and English in the Philippines

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#### Introduction

The Philippines possesses a great wealth of indigenous languages, and while these languages are related, the differences among them are also extensive. Even the relatively closely-related lowland languages are very diverse, exhibiting differences in all linguistic aspects: lexicon, phonology, syntax. By studying these differences, we are able to reach some tentative conclusions about the prehistory of Philippine languages and make a subgrouping of the languages. In some senses, this linguistic diversity is perceived as problematic for the Philippines, as it hinders effective communication among the various ethnic groups. At the time English conquered the country, no single language was spoken by more than a quarter of the population, and Spanish was spoken by no more than two percent of the population. As a result, English became the language of the Philippines, dominating education, media, government, and business. Even with the coming of independence and the spread of Tagalog as the national language, English continues to occupy a dominant position, and is additionally a source of massive borrowing into Tagalog and other Philippine languages.

## Linguistic diversity

There are over one hundred distinct languages in the Philippines.<sup>1</sup> These are languages, not dialects, which is to say that these variations are so different one from the other that the (monolingual) speaker of one language does not understand communication in one of the other languages, although many of these languages exhibit greater or lesser degrees of dialectal variation within them. This is a very different situation from that found among the various dialects in America, or in Japan, or elsewhere. The following examples are an indication of how different the Philippine languages are. Here is the same

sentence in fourteen representative languages spread from the north to the south of the country (McFarland, 1980).

| Ivatan      | Taytu madngey ku du qatngeh naw nu kayuq.         |
|-------------|---|
| Ilokano     | Qadda nangngeg ku dita qayan ti ka:yu.            |
| Isnag       | Qatan nagiqna ku kitu:ne, gayan tu ka:yu kitu:ni. |
| Pangasinan  | Walay nangel ku ditad kiew.                       |
| Kapampangan | Qa:tin kung dindam king tanaman.                  |
| Tagalog     | May narinig qako diyan sa pu:nungka:hoy.          |
| Bikol       | May nadangug qaku diyan sa ka:huy.                |
| Samar-Leyte | May nabatiqan qaku didaq hit ka:huy.              |
| Cebuano     | Du:na kuy nadunggan dihaq sa ka:huy.              |
| Hiligaynon  | May nabatiqan qaku diraq sa may ka:huy.           |
| Maranao     | Qana miyanug qakun sangkanan a kayu.              |
| Tausug      | Qawn kiyarungugan ku ha kahuy.                    |
| Sama        | Niaq takaleku min naqan ma poqon kayu.            |
| Blaan       | Sebe nun lingegu deen di kayuq en.                |
| English     | I heard something there in the tree.              |
|             |   |

The eight largest language groups — Tagalog, Cebuano, Ilokano, Hiligaynon, Bikol, Samar-Leyte, Kapampangan, and Pangasinan — account for about 85% of the total population, occupy most of the lowland areas in the country, and can be said to share a single culture (of course, with regional variation). The next two largest groups are Maranao and Magindanao, spoken predominantly by Muslims in Mindanao. The remaining one hundred plus languages are found mostly in the more remote areas of the country such as the mountainous parts of Luzon and the less developed areas in Mindanao. A comparison of seven of the largest Philippine languages reveals that not only are they closely related, but also that they nevertheless exhibit a remarkable degree of difference.

#### Lexicon

A glance at lexicons will give us some idea of the degree of closeness and distance of these languages. There are some basic vocabulary items which are identical in all seven languages, as in I.<sup>2</sup>

| _           |       |       |      |             |
|-------------|-------|-------|------|-------------|
| I.          |       |       |      |             |
| TAGALOG     | qasin | qinom | mata | singsing    |
| BIKOL       | qasin | qinum | mata | singsing    |
| HILIGAYNON  | qasin | qinum | mata | singsing    |
| CEBUANO     | qasin | qinum | mata | singsing    |
| KAPAMPANGAN | qasin | qinum | mata | singsing    |
| PANGASINAN  | qasin | qinum | mata | singsing    |
| ILOKANO     | qasin | qinum | mata | singsing    |
| ENGLISH     | salt  | drink | eye  | finger ring |

On the other hand, some basic vocabulary items have distinct forms in all the languages, as in II.

| II.         |           |          |           |          |
|-------------|-----------|----------|-----------|----------|
| TAGALOG     | qantok    | damo     | kapatid   | langgam  |
| BIKOL       | pi:rut    | qa:wut   | tu:gang   | ta:nga   |
| HILIGAYNON  | pilaw     | ĥila:mun | qu:tud    | subay    |
| CEBUANO     | katulgun  | sagbut   | qigsu:qun | qami:gas |
| KAPAMPANGAN | makatukba | dikut    | kapu:tul  | pa:nas   |
| PANGASINAN  | mantemeg  | dika     | qagi      | gila:ta  |
| ILOKANO     | dungsa    | ru:qut   | kabsat    | kutun    |
| ENGLISH     | sleepy    | grass    | sibling   | ant      |

## Phonology

Phonologically, the languages are very similar. One of the main differences involves the vowel systems. The southern languages (Tagalog, Bikol, Hiligaynon, and Cebuano) natively have three-vowel systems: /a, i, u/. Under Spanish and American influence, Tagalog has acquired two new vowels, /e/ and /o/. However in most cases, /u/ and /o/ represent the same vowel, and spelling convention places <o> in the final syllable of a word and <u> elsewhere, a system followed in this paper. Otherwise occurrences of /e/ and /o/ are found only in borrowed words.

In Kapampangan, /e/ and /o/ are distinct vowels, having developed historically from /ai/ and /au/ respectively. In Pangasinan, /e/ is a back, unrounded vowel, much like the vowel in English but. In Ilokano, there are dialectal differences, so that in Benguet, for example, /e/ is a back, unrounded vowel, as in Pangasinan, while in Ilocos Norte, it is a mid front vowel, like the vowel in English bet. The /e/ in Pangasinan and Ilokano represents regular developments from a vowel assumed to exist in Proto-Austronesian, the so-called schwa vowel, /ə/. In the other five languages /ə/ merged with one of the other vowels: in Tagalog with /i/, in Hiligaynon and Cebuano with /u/, and in Kapampangan with /a/, and in Bikol with /u/ in a final syllable, /a/ elsewhere.

| m.          |                    |                       |         |          |
|-------------|--------------------|-----------------------|---------|----------|
| TAGALOG     | bigas              | dinig                 | ngi:pin | mala:lim |
| BIKOL       | bagas              | dangug                | ngi:pun | hara:rum |
| HILIGAYNON  | bugas              | dungug                | ngipun  | hala:lum |
| CEBUANO     | bugas              | dungug                | ngi:pun | la:lum   |
| KAPAMPANGAN | qabyas             | [damdam] <sup>3</sup> | qi:pan  | mala:lam |
| PANGASINAN  | belas              | dengel                | ngipen  | qaralem  |
| ILOKANO     | bagas <sup>4</sup> | dengngeg              | ngi:pen | qada:lem |
| ENGLISH     | uncooked rice      | hear                  | tooth   | deep     |

The seven languages generally have the same set of consonants, although they may have different consonants in words shared among the various languages. One source of the differences is the consonant reconstructed as  $/\gamma$  in Proto-Austronesian (Lopez, 1978). This consonant also merged historically with other consonants: with /g in the southern languages, /y in Kapampangan, /l in Pangasinan, and /r in Ilokano, as in IV. In Kapampangan, there were additional developments, in that final /ay/ became /e/, /au/ became /o/, and /uy/ became /iq/, as in /mabsiq/.

| IV.         |                  |       |       |        |
|-------------|------------------|-------|-------|--------|
| TAGALOG     | gamot 'medicine' | ba:go | qugat | busog  |
| BIKOL       | gamut            | baqgu | qugat | basug  |
| HILIGAYNON  | gamut            | bagqu | qugat | busug  |
| CEBUANO     | gamut            | bagqu | qugat | busug  |
| KAPAMPANGAN | yamut            | ba:yu | quyat | mabsiq |
| PANGASINAN  | lamut            | ba:lu | qulat | naksel |
| ILOKANO     | ramut            | baru  | qurat | nabsug |
| ENGLISH     | root             | new   | vein  | sated  |

Other differences involve (1) the widespread loss of /h/ and the glottal stop /q/, in the northern languages; (2) the development of glottal stop clusters (cf. Tagalog /ba:go/, Bikol /baqgu/, Cebuano /bagqu/); (3) location of accent (long vowels), etc.

### Syntax

Looking at the grammar of these languages, it is surprising to find a great many differences in pronouns, verb inflections, etc. Even the most basic and frequently used aspects of the languages are not exempt from rapid change. Let us look at three features: deictic or demonstrative pronouns, case-marking articles, and negation.

## Deictic pronouns

All of these languages make (at least) a three-way distinction in the deictic pronouns and locatives, roughly: this/here (near me), that/there (near you), and that/there (not near you or me). However the seven languages have different words to express these distinctions.

| TAGALOG    | qito      | qiyan | qiyon |
|------------|-----------|-------|-------|
| BIKOL      | qi:ni     | qiyan | qitu  |
| HILIGAYNON | qi:ni     | qinaq | qamu  |
| CEBUANO    | kiri/kini | kanag | kadtu |

| KAPAMPANGAN   | qi:ni/qi:ti  | qiyan  | qita   |
|---|--|--|--|
| PANGASINAN  | sa:ya  | sa:tan   | sa:man   |
| ILOKANO   | daytuy   | dayta  | daydiay  |
| ENGLISH   | this   | that (near)  | that (far)   |
| TAGALOG BIKOL HILIGAYNON CEBUANO KAPAMPANGAN PANGASINAN ILOKANO ENGLISH | di:to digdi diri diri/dinhi ke:ni/ke:ti diya di:tuy here | diyan<br>diyan<br>di:ra<br>dihaq<br>ken<br>ditan<br>dita<br>there (near) | doon<br>duman<br>didtu<br>didtu<br>karin/ke:ta<br>diman<br>qidiay<br>there (far) |

There are additional differences: some of the languages make a distinction between this/here (touching me) and this/here (near but not touching), or between this/here (near me but not you) and this/here (near you and me). Cebuano locatives distinguish the tenses; such forms can substitute for verbs expressing movement. Ilokano has additional deictics expressing past or former entities. The northern languages (Kapampangan, Pangasinan, and Ilokano) have plural forms of the deictics. The other four languages express plurality by adding the particle mga/manga/ to the pronouns.

## Case-marking articles

Tagalog has three case-marking articles for common nouns, ang, ng/naŋ/, and sa. The primary function of ang is to mark or identify the grammatical subject (the subject is almost always assumed to have definite reference):

(1) Matalino ang titser, 'The teacher is intelligent'.

The particle ng has three major functions:

- (2) 'Possessor' of a noun: anak ng titser, 'child of the teacher'.
- (3) 'Actor' of a 'passive' verb: Nakíta ng titser si Ramon, 'The teacher saw Ramon'.
- (4) Indefinite object: Bumili ng computer ang titser, 'The teacher bought a computer'.

The particle sa also has three major functions:

- (5) Definite object (in Tagalog found only in a relativized clause): ang titser na bumili sa computer, 'the teacher who bought the computer'.
- (6) 'Indirect object': Ibinigay ko ito sa titser, 'I gave this to the teacher'.
- (7) Location or direction: Pumunta ang titser sa Cebu, 'The teacher went to Cebu'.

Plurality of nouns (and some other things) in Tagalog is expressed with the particle mga /manga/, which is placed between the case-marking particle and the noun; plurality does not have to be explicitly shown. These points can be displayed in the following chart (the numbers refer to the functions discussed above):

| Function   | 1         | 2–3 | 4 (5) | 6–7   |
|------------|-----------|-----|-------|-------|
| Indefinite |           | ng  | (mga) |       |
| Definite   | ang (mga) |     | sa    | (mga) |

Like Tagalog, Cebuano has three case-marking particles (ug instead of ng) and the plural particle mga. In contrast to Tagalog, Cebuano sa expresses definiteness in all of the functions of ng, including the possessor and actor.

| Function   | 1         | 2-3-4 (5) | 6–7   |
|------------|-----------|-----------|-------|
| Indefinite |           | ug (mga)  |       |
| Definite   | ang (mga) | sa        | (mga) |

Hiligaynon has a similar pattern, but with *sing* for indefinite *ng* and *sang* (not *sa*) for definite *ng*:

| Function   | 1         | 2-3-4 (5)  | 6–7      |
|------------|-----------|------------|----------|
| Indefinite |           | sing (mga) |          |
| Definite   | ang (mga) | sang (mga) | sa (mga) |

Bikol, like Hiligaynon, makes an indefinite (nin)/definite (kan) distinction corresponding to sing and sang. Bikol also adds another form to this pattern (su in Legazpi, si in Naga), which is an emphatic form for the subject corresponding to ang in Tagalog:

| Function   | 1        | 2-3-4 (5) | 6–7      |
|------------|----------|-----------|----------|
| Indefinite |          | nin (mga) |          |
| Definite   | an (mga) | kan (mga) | sa (mga) |
| Emphatic   | su (mga) |           |          |

As we move to the northern languages, the differences become more striking. A feature found in Kapampangan is the redundancy of pronouns. That is, if the nominative or genitive referent (functions 1–5) is expressed by a noun or name, then the third person pronoun usually appears along with the noun: ya 'he/she'; na 'his/her, by him/her'; la 'they'; da 'their, by them'. A second difference is that plurality is expressed with distinctive case-marking particles ding and karing. The following pattern appears:

| Function   | 1         | 2-3-4 (5) | 6–7    |
|------------|-----------|-----------|--------|
| Indefinite |           | ning      |        |
| Definite   | (ya) ing  | na + ning | king   |
| Plural     | (la) ding | da + ding | karing |

Like Bikol, Pangasinan has two articles corresponding to the Tagalog nominative ang. say and su. The choice of say or su follows the distribution of nominative personal pronouns. As in other northern languages, nominative pronouns have two forms, for example siah 'I' at the beginning of a clause, ah elsewhere. (In Tagalog this distribution applies only to ihaw and ha 'you (singular)'.) Similarly say is clause-initial; su occurs elsewhere. Plurality is expressed in Pangasinan through reduplication in the nouns (bii 'woman'; bibii 'women') or with the particle saray. In addition common nouns referring to human beings are treated as personal names and are marked accordingly (si, nen, etc.).

| Function       | 1     | 2-3-4 (5) | 6–7      |
|----------------|-------|-----------|----------|
| Indefinite     |       |           |          |
| Definite       | su    | na        | ed       |
| Clause-initial | say   |           |          |
| Plural         | saray | na saray  | ed saray |

In Ilokano the case-marking system is virtually non-existent. There are two singular particles, ti and iti. For the most part, ti performs functions 1–5, and iti 6 and 7. (Case marking is similarly limited with personal names, but is maintained in the personal pronouns.) There are plural particles dagiti and kadagiti, corresponding to ti and iti. Plurality is also expressed, as in Pangasinan and many northern languages, through reduplication in the noun (babai / baba:qi/ 'woman'; babbai / babba:qi/ 'women') and with plural deictic pronouns.

| Function   | 1      | 2-3-4 (5) | 6–7      |
|------------|--------|-----------|----------|
| Indefinite |        |           |          |
| Definite   |        | ⊐<br>ti   | iti      |
| Plural     | dagiti |           | kadagiti |

## Negation

Negation is a fairly complicated matter in the Philippines. In Tagalog, the general negator is hindi /hindiq/ (short form di /diq/) placed in front of the word being negated. However, some words have their own negators which

replace the original words in the process of negation. These negators are wala /walaq/ 'there isn't' (mayroon 'there is'); ayaw /qa:yaw/ 'not want' (gusto 'want'), and huwag /hwag/ 'don't' (negative command).

In Cebuano and Hiligaynon, wala expresses 'there isn't', but is also the negator for some verbs (mostly perfective-aspect verbs). The rest of the range of Tagalog hindi is covered by dili/di:liq/in Cebuano, indi/qindiq/ in Hiligaynon. But in Cebuano dili (or dili buut) also corresponds to Tagalog ayaw 'not want'. And ayaw /qayaw/ in Cebuano corresponds to huwag 'don't' in Tagalog. Bikol has a separate negator bako / bakuq/ for nouns and adjectives (in fact for everything but verbs). Verbs are negated by dai, which also corresponds to huwag (in Legazpi), and to wala in Tagalog. Bikol (Naga) has mayo /ma:yuq/, corresponding to Tagalog wala. Bikol habo /habuq/ corresponds to Tagalog ayaw. Kapampangan has a long negator ali /qaliq/ and a short one /e/ corresponding to Tagalog hindi. These words also express 'don't'. 'There isn't' is ala /qalaq/; and 'not want' is e buri /buriq/ or e bisa / bi:saq/. Like Bikol, Pangasinan has a distinctive negator aliwa for nouns and adjectives, with ag for verbs. Ag also expresses 'don't', and ag labay, 'not want'. In Pangasinan, wala means 'there is' (cf. Tagalog wala 'there isn't'), and 'there isn't' is expressed by anggapo. Andi is the stand-alone form for both aliwa and anggapo.

Corresponding to hindi, Ilokano has a long form saan (cf. Tagalog saan 'where') and a short form di, which combines with pronouns and enclitic pronouns. These two negators also express 'don't', and 'don't want' is di kayat. 'There isn't' is awan.

| TAGALOG     | hindi /hindiq/                  | wala/walaq/   |
|-------------|---------------------------------|---------------|
| BIKOL       | dai, bako /bakuq/               | mayo /ma:yuq/ |
| HILIGAYNON  | indi /qindiq/, wala /walaq/     | wala          |
| CEBUANO     | dili /di:liq/, wala             | wala          |
| KAPAMPANGAN | e, ali /qaliq/, aliwa /qaliwaq/ | ala /qalaq/   |
| PANGASINAN  | ag, aliwa, andi                 | anggapo, andi |
| ILOKANO     | di, saan                        | awan          |
|             | ,                               | , /1 /        |
| TAGALOG     | ayaw /qa:yaw/                   | huwag/hwag/   |
| BIKOL       | habo/habuq/                     | dai           |
| HILIGAYNON  | indi /qindiq/                   | dili /di:liq/ |
| CEBUANO     | dili /di:liq/                   | ayaw/qayaw/   |
| KAPAMPANGAN | e                               | e             |
| PANGASINAN  | ag                              | ag            |
| ILOKANO     | di, saan                        | di, saan      |

## Language change

We might ask how this situation has come about. How have these languages come to be so different? It is a long accepted and established principle in

linguistics that all languages are in a constant state of change.<sup>5</sup> A second principle is that the direction of change is essentially random, within certain parameters, which means that, if a given speech community should split into two parts, and the parts are completely cut off from each other, the speech of the two parts will change in different directions, such that after a period of time (say, a thousand years), their respective languages would have become so different as to be mutually unintelligible, i.e. they would have become separate languages. Furthermore, if there are a series of splits, producing more and more parts of the original group, those parts which have been separated longest will exhibit the greatest degree of difference from each other. Even if there is not a total separation of the community, but there is a drop in the level of communication among parts of the community, a similar but slower process of diversification can be observed. The process of change applies to all parts of a language. The vocabulary is the most susceptible to change, while syntax changes more slowly and phonology is the most resistant to change, although even phonology, given enough time, can exhibit drastic shifts.

This much we know, presumably. What we don't know is why. Why do languages change? Most explanations have to do with the acquisition process. A child wants to communicate with the people around him/her, so he/she learns or tries to learn the code (system/language) being used by those people. We don't have direct access to that code, as it resides within the brains of speakers. What we can do is try to copy what we hear: words, phrases, sentences. But language itself is so vast, and there are an infinite number of real-world situations in which we might use language, that we never observe more than a portion of the language that we need. Inevitably and in many cases, we will want to say something for which we have no copy. Then we have to fill in the gaps, and thus make empirical extrapolations from the copies that are available.

In any case, it seems that people get different results when they fill in the gaps, and even in the copying process. These different results become part of the input for others to copy; some of these differences will spread in a community, and constitute an innovation, a language feature which distinguishes one speech variety from other varieties. There are other sources of language change, such as borrowing between languages or dialects that come in contact with each other. An individual is also likely to have membership in two or more groups, of which the speech may be significantly different. The most obvious case is that of a migrant family moving from one speech area to another, such as Bisayans (Visayans) moving to Manila. Other groups might be based on friendship, age, occupation, religion, etc. All of this complicates the task of the individual acquiring more than one code at the same time. These are all interesting and somewhat mysterious processes, but, nonetheless, the primary force we are dealing with is the internal dynamic of language, pushing for constant change.

## Subgrouping of Philippine languages

On the basis of such data (which are limited in many cases) we are able to reach some tentative conclusions about the historical development and resultant subgrouping of the Philippine languages (1980: 11).<sup>6</sup>

- 1. All Philippine languages except Chavacano and the imported languages (Chinese, English, Spanish, etc.) are Austronesian languages (along with most Indonesian and South Pacific languages) and Hesperonesian (Western Austronesian) languages. Chavacano is a creole language spoken in a number of places, including Cavite and Zamboanga, which is purported to have a basically Spanish vocabulary with a basically 'Philippine' grammar.
- 2. It is not clear whether the Philippine languages, that is, the Austronesian languages found in the Philippines, constitute a subgroup or not. Possibly some of the southern languages are more closely related to some Indonesian languages, etc.
- 3. There are three large groups of Philippine languages: Northern Philippine, Meso-Philippine, and Southern Philippine (including Maranao and Manobo). The predominant feature of the Philippine linguistic landscape is the boundary separating Tagalog and the languages to the south from Kapampangan and the languages to the north.
- 4. The Meso-Philippine and Southern Philippine groups probably combine into a single group.
- 5. The Ivatan languages, the South Mindanao languages (Bagobo, Blaan, Tboli, and Tiruray), the Sama languages, and Sangil do not belong to any of the three large groups of Philippine languages.
- 6. The relationship between the Northern Philippine languages and the groups/subgroups named in 4 and 5 in Table 7.1 below, and the relationships between these languages and other Austronesian languages, cannot be determined at this time.
- 7. Within the Northern Philippine group there is a Cordilleran subgroup which includes the Dumagat languages, the Northern Cordilleran languages (including Ibanag), Ilokano, the Central Cordilleran languages (including Kalinga, Bontok, Kankanaey, and Ifugao), and the Southern Cordilleran languages (including Pangasinan). Contrary to popular belief, there is no sharp division between upland (Igorot) languages and lowland languages. There are close relationships between lowland Pangasinan and upland languages such as Inibaloi, and between lowland Ibanag and upland languages such as Isnag. The Kapampangan and the Sambalic languages form a subgroup on a parallel level with the Cordilleran subgroup within the Northern group.

- 8. Within the Meso-Philippine group, there is a Central Philippine subgroup which includes Tagalog, the Bikol languages, the Bisayan languages, and the East Mindanao languages.
- 9. Within the Central Philippine subgroup, the West Bisayan languages (including Hiligaynon) and the Central Bisayan languages (including Samar-Leyte) combine to form the North Bisayan subgroup. Cebuano lies outside of this subgroup.

A tentative and partial subgrouping of the Philippine languages, with the locations of the fifteen largest (by population) languages, follows:

Table 7.1 A tentative subgrouping of Philippine languages

- I. Ivatan languages
- II. Northern Philippine languages

A. Cordilleran languages

- 1. Dumagat languages
- 2. Northern Cordilleran languages IBANAG (15)
- 3. ILOKANO (3)
- 4. Central Cordilleran languages
- 5. Southern Cordilleran languages PANGASINAN (8)
- B. ILONGOT
- C. Sambalic languages KAPAMPANGAN (7)
- III. Meso-Philippine languages
  - A. North Mangyan languages
  - B. South Mangyan languages
  - C. Palawan languages
    - 1. North Palawan languages
    - 2. South Palawan languages
  - D. Central Philippine languages
    - 1. TAGALOG (2)
    - 2. Bikol languages (5)
    - 3. North Bisayan (Visayan) languages
      - a. West Bisayan languages

AKLANON (13)

KINARAY-A (11)

b. Central Bisayan languages

HILIGAYNON (4)

MASBATE~NO (14)

SAMAR-LEYTE (6)

4. South Bisayan languages CEBUANO (1)

TAUSUG (12)

5. East Mindanao languages

- IV. Southern Philippine languages
  - A. Subanon languages
  - B. Danao languages
    - 1. MARANAO (9)
    - 2. MAGINDANAO (10)
  - C. Manobo languages
- V. Sama languages
- VI. South Mindanao languages
- VII. SANGIL



Figure 7.1 A map of major Philippine languages

## English in relation to indigenous languages

Given this complex language situation, it is easy to understand why English, and not one of the Philippine languages, became the dominant language during the American period. Tagalog and Cebuano are each spoken as a first language by about one fourth of the population, but today as a consequence of the promotion of the national language, Tagalog is spoken by many Filipinos as a second language. Probably more than half of Filipinos speak Tagalog either as a first or second language, although at the time the Americans came, there was no language spoken widely outside of its own area, and there was no *lingua franca* (like Malay in Indonesia) used throughout the Philippine islands. Nor was Spanish effectively available as the language of education, business, and government, and according to Gonzalez (1996), at the end of the Spanish Period, only two percent of Filipinos spoke Spanish.

Largely because of this linguistic diversity, as well as other reasons, English was chosen as the language of public education, which was also introduced by the Americans to the Philippines. English became the language of government, and subsequently or consequently, the language of business, the media, and the language of upper-class society in general. Gonzalez (1996) points out that even at the beginning, no more than two percent of English teachers were native speakers, and since then almost all English is learned from other Filipinos, which may account for the origins of Philippine English. Even since independence, for various reasons, English has maintained a dominant position in the Philippines, while, at the same time, Tagalog has been developing a degree of dominance of its own. The rise of Tagalog may be explained historically. Because of the magnificent harbor offered by Manila Bay, the Spanish chose to place their capital there. The Americans did likewise (as did the Japanese for a short time), and with independence Manila continued to be the capital. As a result Manila grew into a large metropolis and the center of political, economic, and social power in the country. When it came time to write a constitution in 1935, it was decided that the Philippines should have a national language, 'based on one of the existing languages'. It was thus logical that the language of the dominant political group, Tagalog, should be that language.

The 1973 constitution went further, saying that the national language was to be called Pilipino, and to be 'based' on Tagalog. Since the contribution from other Philippine languages was negligible, Pilipino became simply another name for Tagalog. One development however was that the 'Pilipino' taught in schools was a more conservative, purist, form of Tagalog. This resulted in the curious situation that non-Tagalogs, who studied Pilipino in school, applied this term to the more purist language, whereas they considered 'Tagalog' to be the language they found in Manila, complete with all the foreign borrowings. Many Tagalogs had a reverse definition, looking upon the

'degenerate', foreign-influenced language of Manila as 'Pilipino'. The 1987 constitution changed the name of the national language to Filipino, this time undefined, but with the provision that it was to be enriched with words from other Philippine and non-Philippine languages. In effect, there was no change: Filipino is another name for Pilipino, which was another name for Tagalog. Thus there is a great deal of confusion, and diverse opinions, about what Tagalog is, what Filipino is, and what constitutes such varieties as Philippine English and 'Taglish'.

## Taglish and Philippine English

Taglish is not really a speech variety, but rather a general label given to the mixing of English and Tagalog, which is available to all bilingual speakers. The results are different, depending on the individual speaker's competence in the two languages, as in (8) and (9) here:

(8) I'm sorry ngayon lang ako naka email ... kasi po naubusan ng Internet card then nang nakabili na hindi namin alam kung paano i-install kasi nag-change sila ng ways kung paano.

'I'm sorry I'm able to e-mail just now ... because our Internet card ran out and then after we were able to buy some load. We didn't know how to install it because they changed the ways to do it.'

(9) Then they ask me, ano pa daw capabilities ko in singing ... I did not told [sic] them ... gusto ko sila mag find out.

'Then they ask me, what other capabilities I have in singing ... I did not tell them ... I wanted them to find out for themselves.'

In my view, there is no single variety of Philippine English or Standard Philippine English. For one thing, the idiom varies depending on the first language of the speaker; thus Cebuano English or Ilokano English is different from Tagalog English, and the Chinese Filipinos have their own variety. There is also variation depending on how well a speaker knows English, and I would also make one additional distinction which is not usually made, that is, the difference between the kind of English that would be used in an all-Filipino setting — where everyone understands both Tagalog and English — and in a mixed setting — where part of the group does not understand Tagalog. Among Filipinos, 'pure' Tagalog or English is seldom heard, and Taglish is the usual order of the day, where English insertions will be in Philippine English, with all the familiar Filipino features. Most Filipinos are aware of many of these features and will avoid using them, for example, when speaking to foreigners

who know no Tagalog. There are nonetheless some features of which speakers are not aware, or otherwise have no control over, and these will be present no matter what the setting. For example, most Filipinos will speak with a 'Filipino accent' in any context.

## Borrowing from English

In addition to its position in education, government, and business, English is also an important source of borrowing into Tagalog and other Philippine languages. In a study of fifty Tagalog mini-novels (combined corpus of about 1,000,000 words) I found more than 1,500 words and phrases of English origin which occurred at least three times in Tagalog contexts (McFarland, 1998). The data provided extensive examples of both borrowing and code-switching.

How do we distinguish these two phenomena? The writers are presumed to be bilingual and thus fully capable of code-switching. As a general rule nonetheless, we could observe that code-switching seemed to be used only in dialogue sections of the books, not narrative sections. That is, the writers used code-switching only when they were 'quoting' their characters, not when they were using their own words. Thus words of English origin occurring in the narrative sections were taken to be borrowed words. In dialogue sections, judgments had to be made. The distinction between borrowing and codeswitching is largely a matter of judgments made by individual writers (and of the consistency of judgments among writers). If a writer uses Tagalog orthography, this is an indication that he/she considers the word to be Tagalog. If he/she uses a word with English orthography in an otherwise Tagalog context — e.g. as the only English word in the sentence — this tends to indicate acceptance of the word as a borrowing. We do have cases of oneword code-switching, but if the same word occurs repeatedly in a Tagalog context, this is also an indication of the word's being assimilated into Tagalog, that is, being borrowed. In the 1998 study when determining the frequencies of borrowed words, only the occurrences of words in narrative sections and in Tagalog contexts in dialogue sections were counted. Of the borrowed English words and phrases, 97 placed among the 2,500 most frequent words in Tagalog.

We generally distinguish two kinds of borrowing: cultural borrowing and intimate borrowing. Cultural borrowing involves the adoption of words from another culture, along with the corresponding items of culture, such as products and ideas, affecting words like *computer*, *hamburger*, *taxi*. Cultural borrowing occurs in any situation of intercultural contact, especially commercial or economic contacts. Thus, here, such words can be borrowed without anything being known about the other language (cf. *sushi*, *sukiyaki*, *karaoke* from Japanese). Intimate borrowing involves the adoption of words

Linguistic diversity and English in the Philippines 147

which replace, or compete with, words already in use in the borrowing language. For example the use of gusto 'want, like' instead of ibig or nais, or Mister instead of Ginoo. Intimate borrowing usually occurs in a situation in which one society or linguistic group is dominated by another society, politically or economically. English borrowed heavily from French during the period in which France was dominant in England. Similarly Tagalog borrowed heavily from Spanish and English during those respective colonial periods. English borrowing, not only into Tagalog but into all languages in the world, continues today, thanks to the dominant position of America in the world. In any case, intimate borrowing occurs when large numbers of speakers of one language are also fluent in a second language. The direction of borrowing is predominantly from the dominant language group to the subordinate group.

The borrowings found in this study can be classified into a number of different types. In many cases, the English origin of words is obvious because of radically different spelling and association with well-known English words: bag, boss, daddy, gate, hello, hi, ma'am, mommy, sir, sorry. In some cases, however, the spelling has been changed, that is, transliterated into Tagalog orthography, as in:

 binggo 'bingo'
 kontak 'contact'

 isyu 'issue'
 manikin 'mannequin'

 kemikal 'chemical'
 peke 'fake'

 kendi 'candy'
 pisikal 'physical'

 komiks 'comics'
 tipikal 'typical'

In other cases, a revised spelling competes with the original English spelling, and both forms are used with high frequency:

 drayber/driver
 plastik/plastic

 dyip/jeep
 sopa/sofa

 hayskul/high school
 telebisyon/television

 kamera/camera
 traysikel/tricycle

 parti/party
 weyter/waiter

In some cases, the meaning has shifted, with or without a change in spelling:

alibi 'excuse'misis 'wife'tricycle (a kind of pedicab)baril 'gun' (from barrel)mister 'husband'village 'exclusive residentialbilib 'impressed' (from believe)polo 'short-sleeved shirt'area'istambay 'idler' (from standby)pulis 'policeman'

One of the most curious and hard to understand examples is *ispelingin*, which comes from *spelling* (with verbal suffix -*in*), but means 'figure out, understand,' as in (10):

(10) Talagang mahirap ispelingin ang mga babae.

'Women are really hard to figure out.'

Borrowed items are likely to acquire new syntactic features, that is, to adapt to Tagalog grammar. Consider the examples (11), (12) and (13):

(11) Tutal, feel ko naman na talagang mahal niya ako.

'Anyway, I feel that he really loves me.'

(12) Parang enjoy na enjoy ang dalawa sa kanilang ginagawa.

'The two of them seem to be really enjoying what they are doing.'

(13) Sino ang mas enjoy kang kasama?

'Who is the one you most enjoy being with?'

In some cases the original English word has a range of meanings, but it is borrowed with only one or a few of these meanings:

break 'end of relationship' feel 'believe, think' project 'housing project' chicks 'girls' miss 'be lonely for' squatter 'illegal resident' close 'intimately close' order 'food order' type 'preferred type' crush 'infatuation'

Filipinos are fond of using abbreviations. In some cases the English abbreviations are used. Still other abbreviations are 'made in the Philippines':

aircon 'air-conditioning'

CR 'comfort (= rest) room'

emcee 'master of ceremonies'

LRT 'Light Rail Transit'

NPA 'New People's Army'

OA 'over-acting'

PR 'public relations'

UP 'University of the Philippines'

As a general rule we do not find borrowing of morphology or syntax. Usually a word is borrowed in only one form; any necessary changes in tense, number, etc., are accomplished through the use of Tagalog grammatical devices (verbal affixes, the plural marker mga, etc.). In borrowing from Spanish, usually only one form of a word was borrowed. For example, sapatos (from the plural form of zapato) can refer to one shoe or many. In borrowing from English, we are seeing more borrowing of both singular and plural forms, as in examples (14), (15), (16) and (17):

(14) Classmate ako ni Cocoy Ledesma.

'I'm a classmate of Cocoy Ledesma.'

(15) Oo, classmates nga kami noong araw.

'Yes, indeed we were classmates in those days.'

(16) Ikukuwento ko na sa mga classmate natin ang nangyari sa burol.

'I'll tell our classmates what happened on the hill.'

(17) Sa pagdating ng kanilang mga teachers at classmates ay saka lamang natuklasan ng lahat na sila pala ni Stephen ay mag-asawa na.

'It was only when their teachers and classmates arrived that they learned that she and Stephen had gotten married.'

Many borrowed words, such as *natural* and *altar*, have the same form, regardless of whether they are spelled in accordance with English, Spanish, or Tagalog orthography. Other words have very similar forms, such as English *education* and Spanish *educacion*. Both of these would be transliterated as *edukasyon* in Tagalog. Thus there are many cases in which we cannot easily identify the source of the borrowing as English or Spanish. This problem is further complicated by the Filipino tendency to Hispanicize English words. That is, the English word is replaced by the corresponding Spanish word—or the spelling and pronunciation are changed so that they look and sound as if they had a Spanish origin, even when there is no corresponding Spanish words. Consider the following words for which no corresponding Spanish words exist.

abnormal 'abnormal' bakasyon 'vacation'

destinasyon 'destination' komportable 'comfortable'

As a general rule, I consider questionable words to be of Spanish origin if I find a Spanish word which is a reasonable candidate for the source. However, there are some words like *telebisyon* (television) which represent technology developed in America, and during the period of American dominance in the Philippines. Such words are then taken to be of English origin.

## Tagalog affixation in borrowings

If a word is used with Tagalog affixes, it looks more like a borrowing than a code-switch. *Mag*- is the affix most freely attached to borrowed words; in fact, it seems that it can be attached to any foreign word (regardless of the part of speech) to coin a new Tagalog word. The following lists contain some of the borrowed words which occurred in the study with Tagalog affixes. *Mag*- and

-um- are found in intransitive and actor-focus transitive (active) verbs. Ma- is found both in intransitive and object-focus (passive) verbs. Maka(pag)- expresses the ability to do something. Naka- expresses 'wearing' or 'in the state of'. Maki (pag)- indicates the sharing of an activity. I- and -in are object-focus (passive) affixes.

| mag-apply magbakasyon mag-date mag-drive mag-enjoy magreport mag-resign mag-ring mag-shower mag-sorry        | dumayal<br>gumradweyt<br>kumontak<br>umekstra<br>umistambay<br>umorder   | ma-develop ma-guilty ma-in-love makontak ma-late ma-meet ma-miss ma-realize ma-shock ma-traffic |
|--|--|---|
| maka-graduate makapagbakasyon makapag-concentrate makapag-relax makapokus maka-recover maka-relax maka-score | naka-assign naka-display naka-lock naka-polo naka-schedule naka-shades naka-shorts nakasibilyan naka-t-shirt naka-walking shorts | makipag-boyfriend<br>makipag-break<br>makipag-date<br>makipag-deal<br>maki-share                |
| i-blow-out i-dayal i-diliber idispley i-lock i-order ipokus i-report i-share i-submit                        | barilin basted-in breykin isnabin kontakin order-in pick-apin rape-in rebyuhin targetin  |   |

I and -in are both object focus affixes, which raises the question of which should be attached to borrowed words. There seems to be some tendency to use both. When the basic verb form is required, such as in commands, the i-prefix (e.g. i-order) seems to be preferred. For present and past verbs, the -in form (inorder, rather than ini-order) is preferred, as in examples (18) and (19):

(18) Tinanong niya si Marissa kung ano ang gustong i-order.

'He asked Marissa what she wanted to order.'

(19) O bakit ito lang ang inorder mo?

'Oh, why is this all you ordered?'

#### 150 Curtis D. McFarland

This actually parallels a development in original Tagalog verbs. For example, *ibigay* 'give' in the basic form but in the past form *binigay* frequently appears instead of the expected *ibinigay*.

There were fewer textual examples of borrowed words with other affixes, but my personal observation is that their use is also quite frequent. The following are some examples. The suffix -an (pag- plus -an) expresses the direction or the location of an action or activity. Ka- indicates someone similar or sharing in something. Ka- plus -an makes a noun out of the adjective base.

| sermunan                          | basketbolan<br>bingguhan<br>diskuhan | pag-aplay-an<br>pagtripan |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|---------------------------|
| kapartner<br>ka-table<br>ka-vibes | kakornihan<br>kaplastikan            |                           |

#### Borrowed phrases

We ordinarily avoid positing the borrowing of either morphology or syntax from one language to another. However we do have cases of phrases borrowed as a single unit. In our data, some 'words' occurred both as a single compound word and as a two-word phrase:

| ashtray/ash tray       | dance floor/dancefloor | pocketbook/pocket book |
|------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|
| beerhouse/beer house   | doorbell/door bell     | softdrinks/soft drinks |
| bestfriend/best friend | doorknob/door knob     | tetra pack/tetrapack   |
| classroom/class room   |                        |                        |

Other compounds were consistently written as two words:

| boarding house | parking lot  | security guard |
|----------------|--------------|----------------|
| calling card   | plastic bag  | study table    |
| ice cream      | second floor | swimming pool  |
| orange juice   |              |                |

Some compounds combined with Tagalog affixes, as in the following examples:

| mag-cutting classes | mag-overseas call | naka-long sleeves   |
|---------------------|-------------------|---------------------|
| mag-half day        | ma-high blood     | naka-walking shorts |

Some words were not observed alone in Tagalog contexts (surrounded by Tagalog words), but entered into a number of phrases which did so occur. For example the word *first* was never observed in a Tagalog environment. But the following phrases all occurred in such contexts at least twice:

#### Linguistic diversity and English in the Philippines 151

| first aid       | first kiss   | first time             |
|-----------------|--------------|------------------------|
| first boyfriend | first lady   | first year             |
| first class     | first love   | first year college     |
| first date      | first period | first year high school |
| first day       | first prize  | in the first place     |
| first honor     | -            | •                      |

The word *room* had some frequency in a Tagalog environment, but not high enough to seriously compete with the native *silid* or the Spanish borrowing *kuwarto*. However, the following phrases occurred in a Tagalog context at least twice:

| class room         | ladies' room   | room boy      |
|--------------------|----------------|---------------|
| comfort room       | living room    | room for rent |
| dining room        | men's room     | room service  |
| dressing room      | operating room | shower room   |
| emergency room     | powder room    | study room    |
| guest room         | private room   | waiting room  |
| interrogation room | receiving room |               |

As with single words, phrases which were used in a Tagalog context were taken to be cases of borrowing rather than code-switching. As with single words, their frequencies as borrowed words were counted only in such environments.

Some words and phrases fit more loosely into Tagalog sentences, sometimes separated by punctuation, and have more the appearance of code-switching. However, the high frequency of their occurrences seems to reflect their acceptance by native speakers as Tagalog words or phrases. Consider the following examples:

- (20) Huwag mo na akong iwan, please. Mahal na mahal kasi kita!
  - 'Please, don't leave me. Because I really love you!'
- (21) Nep, please naman, huwag ka namang ganyan sa paghusga kay Liza.
  - 'Nep, please, don't be like that in judging Liza.'
- (22) I'm sorry kung napaiyak kita sa sinabi ko.
  - 'I'm sorry if what I said made you cry.'
- (23) I'm sorry ulit sa paggambala ko sa 'yo.
  - 'I'm sorry about disturbing you again.'
- (24) Kung may mangyayari kay Menard sa labas, at least ay magkasama silang dalawa.

'If something were to happen to Menard while he's away, at least the two of them would be together.'

The following words and phrases are of this type:

| actually    | I mean    | please |
|-------------|-----------|--------|
| anyway      | I'm sorry | so     |
| at least    | of course | well   |
| don't worry |           |        |

Some short greetings tend to occur as independent utterances. While it is hard to classify these as being in Tagalog contexts, their high frequency indicates their acceptance as Tagalog expressions:

| Dear (beginning a letter) | good morning   | hello |
|---------------------------|----------------|-------|
| good afternoon            | good night     | hi    |
| good evening              | happy birthday |       |

Some English words are used frequently as titles, attached to the names of people, places, etc., but not as ordinary words. Others have both uses, and some have different meanings in the two uses. For example, Mr. and Mrs. used with names have the same meaning and usage as in English (with a much higher frequency than the native Ginoo and Ginang). Used as independent words, mister and misis have the meanings of 'husband' and 'wife', respectively. Words of this type are:

| Attorney/Atty. | Miss    | Reverend      |
|----------------|---------|---------------|
| Chief          | Mr.     | Sergeant/Sgt. |
| Congressman    | Mrs.    |               |
| Avenue         | City    | Plaza         |
| Boulevard      | College | Street        |
| Channel        | Park    | University    |

#### Current data

Let's look at some more current data. Silangan is a newspaper published for overseas Filipinos, or migranteng Pinoy 'Filipino migrants'. Most of the articles are in Tagalog. The following is a sampling of English words found in the Tagalog articles in one issue of Silangan. Most of these items are transparent, with one exception of mapraning, which I am told, derives from paranoia.

| anemia<br>annulment | expirasyon<br>flag-raising | mutiny<br>passport | talent scout<br>tariff |
|---------------------|----------------------------|--------------------|------------------------|
| calling card        | hemoglobin                 | recruiter/rekruter | text message           |
| caregiver           | hormone                    | remittance         | transport group        |

| construction<br>domestic worker<br>entertainer | kanser<br>kickback<br>media | seaweed<br>trainee | undocumented<br>visa |
|--|-----------------------------|--------------------|----------------------|
| i-deport                                       | mag-eksport                 | makontrol          | warningan            |
| mag-abroad                                     | mag-thesis defense          | mapraning          |                      |

Further examples of Hispanization are *aplikante* (Sp. *aspirante*) and *migrante* (Sp. *migratorio*). In a morning TV show in Manila, using mostly Tagalog, and intended for a Tagalog-speaking audience, numerous English words could be observed. The following are a sample:

| biodegradable<br>building permit<br>chimney<br>drought<br>election | global warming<br>home video<br>honor roll<br>illegal logging<br>laboratory aide | OCW (overseas<br>contract worker)<br>ozone layer<br>refund | researcher<br>septic tank<br>slaughter house<br>waste management |
|--|--|--|--|
| i-relocate<br>maka-comply  | ma-promote   | ma-rape  | ma-recycle   |

The KTV Channel has educational programs for children in Tagalog and English. The following is a sampling of English words found in some of the Tagalog programs, in which English numbers are also widely used:

| bacon        | final exams | kilo      | sausage     |
|--------------|-------------|-----------|-------------|
| championship | gas         | light     | sound       |
| chocolate    | grams       | opinion   | sunspot     |
| corona       | helium      | pops      | topping     |
| crust        | hydrogen    | radiation | video       |
| energy       | idol        | rap       | water vapor |

Some people would like to replace all the English borrowings with 'pure' Tagalog words, but in this they would face a formidable task, first because of the huge volume of English words which have been and are being borrowed, and, second, because of the inertia of speakers. English words are already part of the language habits of Filipinos, and it is hard to make them learn something new. A third factor to be considered is that the English words are borrowed not only into Tagalog, but also into the other Philippine languages. Replacing English words, if it were possible, would make Tagalog more difficult for non-Tagalogs to learn, and would make it more of a provincial than a national language. In this context, reformers might take a cue from the history of the 'intellectualization' of English. In the sixteenth century, when English was emerging as a 'respectable' language of literature and science, some people were alarmed that the language was being overwhelmed by borrowings from French and Latin. They also advocated the creation of 'pure' English terms such as the following (Millward, 1996: 230):

Linguistic diversity and English in the Philippines 155

dry mock 'irony' endsay 'conclusion' likejamme 'parallelogram' over-reacher 'hyperbole' saywhat 'definition' threlike 'equilateral'

None of these creations survived, while English continued to borrow and flourish, and became the dominant language that it is today.

### Conclusion

In one sense, the large number of languages in the Philippines represents a great wealth and cultural resource. On the other hand, it is a great problem obstructing effective communication among the different ethnic groups. As the country struggles to develop and promote Filipino as the national language, the role of English, both as an alternative medium of communication and as an important source of Tagalog vocabulary, might be accepted and appreciated to a far greater extent than in the past. In particular, there is an obvious need to understand the complex ways in which the use of English interacts with and complements the use of indigenous languages throughout Philippine society.

#### Notes

- It is impossible, for various reasons, to state an exact number. McFarland (1980) identified 118 languages. More recent studies have produced different numbers.
  Constantino (1998) shows about 110, Ethnologue 14th ed. (Grimes, 2002) lists 163.
- 2. Lexical data are from McFarland (1977). In these forms q stands for a glottal stop, ng for a velar nasal, and: for vowel length.
- 3. Another example of *a* in Kapampangan is *maba:yat* 'heavy' (Tagalog mabigat, Bikol magabat, Hiligaynon, Cebuano bugqat, Pangasinan qambelat).
- 4. Another example of *e* in Ilokano is *tekken* 'boat pole' (Tagalog tikin, Hiligaynon, Cebuano tukun, Kapampangan qatkan, Pangasinan teken).
- 5. For example, Bloomfield (1926: 162) states that: 'Every language changes at a rate which leaves contemporary persons free to communicate without disturbance ... Among persons, linguistic change is uniform in ratio with the amount of communication between them ... If linguistic change results in groups between which communication is disturbed, these groups speak dialects of the language ... If linguistic change results in groups of persons between which communication is impossible, these groups speak related languages.'
- My subgrouping is based on the work of many scholars including Dyen (1965), Gallman (1977), Headland (1974), Pallesen (1977), Reid (1974), Tharp (1974), Walton (1977), and Zorc (1977).
- 7. The subsequent discussion follows Gonzalez (1996).

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## A lectal description of the phonological features of Philippine English

Ma. Lourdes G. Tayao

#### Introduction

The spread and worldwide use of English have given rise to different indigenized or nativized Englishes and creoles broadly labeled as 'new Englishes'. These indigenized Englishes, according to Brutt-Griffler (2002), are of two types, both of which result in bilingual speech communities. Type A involves macrolanguage acquisition taking place where 'speakers of different mother tongues within the same environment simultaneously acquire a common second language that serves as a unifying linguistic resource', whereas Type B occurs in a 'largely monolingual speech community which is transformed into a bilingual speech community by virtue of its being in an environment where another mother tongue dominates' (Nero, 2006: 4).

Philippine English, like a number of other Asian varieties of English (including Indian and Singapore English), results from the Type A macrolanguage acquisition process. It has evolved with little input from native speakers except in the initial stage, when English was transplanted in the country as a colonial language upon the annexation of the Philippines from Spain by the United States in 1898. Since the Philippines was a multilingual country, with over one hundred indigenous languages and no common national language, it was decided by the colonizer that English be made the official language and that it be taught and used as the medium of instruction in schools all over the country.

Although Philippine English (PE) stems from General American English (GAE), it has evolved like all Type A macroacquisition varieties and is now 'characteristically defined by its own lexical items, idioms, and transformed meanings' (Nero: 4), in addition to the phonological variations resulting from contrasts between the phonological features of the different Philippine native languages and General American, the target language. A sociolectal approach instead of a geographical one is adopted in this study since the different sociolects exhibit their own distinctive phonological features which override

differences in the native language of the speakers. This article describes the phonology of Philippine English from a sociolectal perspective as suggested by Llamzon (1997). The data presented here result from a fieldwork study aimed at determining the distinctive phonological features of the Philippine English variety used by three groups of speakers: an acrolectal, a mesolectal, and a basilectal group. Both the segmental and the suprasegmental features of the variety spoken by each group are described in this paper. However, it is recommended that further investigation of suprasegmental features of speech be conducted to include morphophonemic changes that appear as a result of rapid speech.

## Previous studies of Philippine English phonology

In a detailed account of previous research describing Philippine English phonology, Bautista (2000a reviewed in Tayao, 2004) cited Llamzon's Standard Filipino English (1969) as the earliest attempt to establish English spoken in the Philippines by educated Filipinos and considered acceptable in educated Filipino circles as a distinct variety of English. Llamzon pointed out that the Standard Filipino English variety (SFE) was intelligible not only to the sizeable community of Filipino speakers who used it, but also to native speakers of Canadian English as well as American English.

In that 1969 study, Llamzon obtained speech samples - reading, soliloquy, and conversation — from four subjects: a college professor, a college senior, a college sophomore, and a janitor with a sixth grade education with the first two considered representative speakers of 'Standard Filipino English'. The data obtained from them provided the corpus for the description of SFE. Llamzon's study set the parameters for the other studies that followed. Using the data obtained from Llamzon's study, Martinez (1972 and 1975) wrote a speech manual for SFE. Later Alberca (1978), Gonzalez and Alberca (1978), and Gonzalez (1982) sampled a variety of Philippine English texts, e.g. newscasts and talk shows for spoken English, and print media, i.e. newspapers and magazines for written English, to describe the phonological, syntactic, and lexical features of Philippine English on the basis of frequency of occurrence. Analyzing data from two television programs, Casambre (1986) described the phonological, lexico-semantic, and syntactic features of Philippine English, and used the Gonzalez and Alberca (1978) results as criteria to identify distinctive phonological features. All of those studies were synchronic in nature.

Diachronic or intergenerational studies include Sta. Ana (1983) and Gonzalez (1984). The former analyzed the reading of a dialogue and responses to an oral composition exercise of seven teachers of English and one Education student majoring in English to describe the distinctive sounds and grammatical features of English spoken from an intergenerational perspective. Gonzalez

(1984) likewise used as data the oral reading of an English passage with critical General American segmentals and suprasegmentals read by subjects belonging to the five generations of students of English Language Teaching in public schools. The objective of the study was to describe Philippine English spoken across generations with reference to the history of English teaching in the country. Llamzon (1997) used the data obtained from all those studies to identify the distinctive basilectal, mesolectal, and acrolectal phonological features of Philippine English. Since Llamzon's study covered data obtained only up to the onset of student activism and the introduction of the Bilingual Education Policy in the country in the nineteen seventies, the present study utilizes data collected in 2002 and adopts the *lectal* approach suggested by Llamzon in accounting for variations in Philippine English phonology.

### The study

This paper describes the phonology of Philippine English using what Llamzon (1997: 47) calls a *lectal* approach. With General American as norm, Llamzon describes three sociolinguistic varieties of Philippine English, namely, an *acrolectal* variety, used by broadcasters, which closely approximates General American, a *mesolectal* variety, used by professionals, which is marked by phonological deviations from General American but which is nonetheless accepted by educated Filipinos as the Philippine variety of English, and a *basilectal* variety, in which 'the speaker's ethnic tongue forms the substratum'. Llamzon points out that educated Filipinos opt to speak English the Filipino way when interacting with fellow Filipinos, in order to maintain their identity and avoid sounding 'affected' and 'artificial' (*ibid*).

## Subjects of the study

This description is based on data obtained from a 2002 survey and reported earlier in a special issue of the journal World Englishes devoted to Philippine English (Bautista and Bolton, 2004). It was designed to determine the phonological features of Philippine English from three groups of respondents numbering 80 in all: an acrolect group consisting of 30 respondents, a mesolect group also made up of 30 speakers, and a basilect group made up of 20 respondents. The groups were set up based on the frequency of use of English in different domains, their preference for which language to use, and a self-assessment of their proficiency in English.

The acrolect group consisted of respondents whose first or home language was English, and whose occupation or profession entailed extensive use of English. They rated themselves 'excellent' or 'good' in the language and they

expressed preference for English in listening to broadcasts, viewing movies, reading texts, and interacting with others. The mesolect group was composed of professionals whose work necessitated the use of English. They rated themselves 'good' or 'average' and sometimes 'weak' but rarely 'excellent' in the use of the language, and except for job-related tasks, they preferred using their native tongue or the national language rather than English in most other domains. Finally, the basilect group was made up of sub-professionals whose use of English was limited to job-related topics or interacting with superiors. They rated themselves 'average' or 'weak' in the use of English and reported that they seldom or never used it with relatives, friends, or peers.

#### The instruments

The data-gathering instrument was a questionnaire made up of two parts. The first part was designed to get the demographic profile of the respondents in order to set up the three groups. Among the data obtained were the educational attainment and home language of the respondents; their frequency of use of English taking into account the domain or setting — home, work, church; the interlocutors — relatives, friends, peers, superiors; the speech acts — socializing, discussing, praying, quarreling, among others; as well as their language preference for reading newspapers, viewing television, listening to the radio, or writing output. In addition, the questionnaire also asked the respondents to rate themselves in their use of English.

The second part of the data-collection instrument consisted of word lists, texts, and tasks designed to elicit spoken English from the respondents. One task called for the respondents to give, in the form of a monologue, their name, occupation, length of service, what their job consisted of, what they perceived their role in their institutions to be, and how they felt about it. Another task was for the subjects to read aloud two passages from the Bible, since several of the respondents were lectors or commentators in religious services. The two tasks elicited connected discourse, with the output of the first task serving as spontaneous discourse and that of the second task as the reading style of the respondents. Both tasks provided data concerning the segmentals (i.e. consonants, vowels, diphthongs, consonant clusters, and assimilation, if any) as well as the suprasegmentals (word and sentence stress, intonation, juncture, and blending) of the three Philippine English varieties.

The word lists came in two sets with one set focusing on English consonant and vowel sounds found to be critical for Filipinos. These were both the absent categories (e.g. /f/, /v/,  $/\theta/$  and  $/\delta/$  among the consonants; and /æ/, stressed  $/\Delta/$  and unstressed schwa  $/\vartheta/$ , and open  $/\vartheta/$  among the vowels for which Filipinos would substitute other sounds in their native tongue; and the coalesced categories such as the sibilants /z/,  $/\check{z}/$ ,  $/\check{s}/$ , and  $/\check{c}/$ , which

were rendered /s/ singly or in combination with other sounds by Filipinos since (/s/ is the only sibilant in most Philippine languages).

The second word list was made up of 50 words that carry word stress in Philippine English found to be distinctive from General American. The 50 words consisted of 11 two-syllable words, 17 with three syllables, 11 with four, and another 11 with five. In General American, of the 50 words, 15 are stressed on the 1st syllable, another 15 on the 2nd, three words on the 3rd, while four may be stressed on either the 1st or the 2nd syllable. One word has two primary stresses and the rest have both primary and secondary stress. Appendix C gives a list of the words in the second word list.

## Methodology

The respondents were asked to accomplish the tasks in the data-collection instrument designed to elicit their listing, reading, and spontaneous speech styles. Their responses were recorded on tape, and the audio recordings of the three groups were then analyzed with reference to each section of the data elicitation instrument. Where 80 percent of the respondents in a given group exhibited a particular phonological feature, it was classified as part of the phonological inventory of that group. Based on frequency of occurrence of a given phonological feature, the analysis looked for trends covering all three groups, within groups and across groups.

#### Results

The findings are given in two sections, for the segmentals and the suprasegmentals. The first includes a description of the vowel and consonant phonemes of the three varieties of Philippine English as well as the production of consonant clusters and syllabic consonants by the three groups. The second gives the prosodic features — stress, intonation, and juncture of Philippine English. The phonemes in both sections are described vis-à-vis those of General American to highlight categories present in the latter but absent in the former.

## The segmentals

The results of this study at the segmental level are shown schematically in Appendices A and B with Figures 1a, 1b, 1c, and 1d presenting the consonant system and Figures 2a, 2b, 2c, and 2d the vowel system of General American and the acrolectal, mesolectal, and basilectal varieties of Philippine English. The consonant and vowel charts used in this study are adopted from those of

American English used by Jannedy et al. (1994). When two phonemic symbols appear, with one enclosed in parentheses, it means that the two are in free variation.

The consonant charts of General American and the three Philippine English varieties in Appendix A show that the stops /p, b, t, d, k, g, 2; the nasals /m, n, 1; the lateral /l/; the glides /w, y/; and the phoneme /r/ are present in all three varieties. However, an analysis of the data collected from the respondents reveals that whereas /r/ is retroflex liquid in the acrolectal variety closely resembling General American, it is rolled or one tap in the mesolectal and basilectal varieties. Moreover, the aspiration of the voiceless stops /p, t, k/ in syllable-initial stressed position in General American is rare among the acrolectal group and is not evident at all in the mesolectal and basilectal varieties.

In the case of the fricatives, only /h/ is present in all three varieties. The labiodental fricatives /f/ (voiceless) and /v/ (voiced) are also found in the acrolect and mesolect but are absent in the basilect level (with the exception of some language groups in the Philippines — like the Ibanag — which have those fricatives in their consonant inventory). As such, at the basilectal level /f/ and /v/ are respectively rendered /p/ and /b/.

The interdental fricatives  $/\theta$ / (voiceless) and  $/\delta$ / (voiced) are likewise largely absent from the basilectal variety, where they are replaced by the alveolar stops /t/ and /d/ respectively. And although they are found in the consonant inventory of the mesolectal and acrolectal groups, the interdental fricatives are still in variable use with /t/ and /d/ in those two groups with a greater incidence of occurrence of /t/ and /d/ among the mesolectal speakers.

The sibilants /s, z, š, ž/ are present in the acrolect, and coalesced as /s/ in both the mesolect and basilect with a greater incidence of coalescence in the basilect than in the mesolect. And among the mesolectal speakers, sibilants in word-initial position (e.g. zebra, zoo, shoe) are pronounced as such although they remain coalesced with /s/ in word-final position (e.g. /š/ in bush and /z/ in buzz) are realized as /s/.

As to the affricates /č/ and /j/, both are present in the acrolect and mesolect but among the basilectal group of speakers, the former is realized as /ts/ while the latter is rendered /dy/ in word-initial position and /ds/ in word-final position. Concerning consonant clusters, three processes may be noted. One is simplification, where the last consonant in the cluster is dropped. This is apparent in all three Philippine English groups of speakers and usually occurs in word-final position. Thus, past /pæst/ is realized as /pas/. A second process is the insertion of a vowel between the consonants, thereby changing the syllable structure of syllabic consonants to CVC resulting in spelling pronunciation, e.g. mountain /maun-teyn/ instead of /maun-tn/; garden /garden/ instead of /gar-dn/; little /li-tel/) instead of /li-tl/. This is especially true of the mesolectal and basilectal groups. The third process is to put a vowel

before the initial syllable in the cluster. This is evident in the prothetic /s/ cluster in initial position. Morphophonemic change in regular verbs in the past tense (e.g. -ed = /t/ after voiceless sounds except /t/; /d/ after voiced sounds except /d/; or /ɪd/ after /t, d/) was observed in all three groups, but where the plural morpheme -s is concerned, it was rendered /s/ after all sounds except after sibilants, where it was pronounced /ɪs/. The plural morpheme -s in Philippine English is not pronounced /z/ nor /ɪz/ after voiced sounds and sibilants respectively, unlike in General American.

Found in Appendix B are the vowel charts of General American and the three varieties of Philippine English. Because of the reduced vowel inventory of many Philippine languages, there being only five in Tagalog and three in several Visayan languages, compared with the 11 vowels in General American, there are a number of instances where two distinct General American vowel phonemes are coalesced into only one Philippine English phoneme. An example of this coalesced category is the Philippine English vowel [a] used for both the General American phonemes /æ/ and /a/. On the other hand, the reduced vowel inventory has also resulted in the use of two Philippine English vowels in free variation, e.g. the General American glide [ow] rendered [ou] or [o] in Philippine English. Other vowel substitutions are Philippine English /i/ for General American /I/ and Philippine English [a] or [e] for General American /æ/.

The vowel inventory of the acrolectal group resembles closely that of General American although at times the low central vowel /a/ is in free variation with the low front vowel /æ/. Present, too, in the acrolectal variety are stressed / $\Lambda$ / and unstressed schwa / $\vartheta$ /, with the latter or /I/ used in place of destressed vowels in rapid speech. With the mesolectal group, there is only one high front vowel /i/ unlike the acrolectal variety which has two, both the tense /i/ and the lax /I/ following General American. Hence, only one vowel, /i/, is used for both /I/ and /i/. This is also true of the high back tense vowel /u/ which is used for /u/ and in lieu of the lax / $\upsilon$ /; as well as the mid back tense or close /o/ which is used for both open and close /o/. The low central / $\upsilon$ / is used instead of unstressed schwa / $\upsilon$ / and it occurs in free variation with / $\upsilon$ / as a substitute for acrolectal /æ/ which is absent from the vowel phoneme inventory of the mesolectal group. The vowels in the mesolectal group, therefore, are /i/, /e/, / $\upsilon$ / /a/, /o/, /u/ and stressed schwa / $\Lambda$ /. Vowels are given full value even if they occur in unstressed syllables.

The basilectal group, specifically the Cebuanos, have only three vowels, /i/, /a/, and /u/. The first of these is used for the mid front /e/,  $/\epsilon/$ , and the high front /I/ vowels of the acrolectal variety. The second is used for the low front /e/ and mid central vowels stressed /a/ and unstressed schwa /a/ while the last is used for the high /u/ and mid back open and close /a/ vowels. As in the mesolectal group vowels are not destressed. In fact, the data showed that except for the acrolectal group, all the vowels of the mesolectal and

basilectal groups are given their full vowel sound. They are not destressed and rendered /1/ or unstressed schwa /ə/ as observed in General American and in the Philippine English variety of the acrolectal group.

## The suprasegmentals

The suprasegmentals include stress (word, sentence, contrastive and emphatic stress), intonation (both final and non-final), juncture, and blending. A schematic diagram is given in Appendix C showing the word stress observed in the three Philippine English varieties. The chart in Appendix C groups the words in the word list used in this study into five sets depending on the syllable given primary and secondary stress in General American: words stressed on the 1st syllable, on the 2nd syllable, on either the 1st or 2nd syllable, words with primary and secondary stress on the 1st and 3rd syllables, and words with primary and secondary stress on the 2nd and 4th syllables.

The first set in the chart shows that of the 15 words stressed on the 1st syllable in General American (five two-syllable words, nine three-syllable, and one four-syllable), six words, namely carton, rescue, ancestors, government, sabotage, and talented, were stressed by all three groups following General American with 100 percent of the acrolectal group giving the first two words the correct stress. Another seven words — colleague, govern, menu, baptism, hazardous, pedestal, and formidable — were stressed by all three groups on the 2nd instead of the 1st syllable though not as often among the acrolectal as with the other two groups. For the remaining two words — spiritual and subsequent — which are stressed on the first syllable in General American, the acrolectal group followed this pattern, unlike the mesolectal and basilectal groups, who stressed those words on the second syllable.

It might be pointed out that the word govern was presented along with government, both of which are stressed on the 1st syllable in General American. While all three groups pronounced the latter as such with 100 percent of the acrolectal and mesolectal groups doing so, this was not true of the word govern. All three groups were divided with more than 50 percent of the respondents in the acrolectal and mesolectal groups stressing it on the 1st syllable and the other 50 percent stressing it differently on the 2nd. This could be due to the fact that in General American there is a set of two-syllable words that may be stressed in two ways depending on their use in the sentence: on the 1st syllable if used as a noun and on the 2nd if used as a verb. However, the word govern does not belong to that set, but because it is a verb, a good number of the respondents stressed it on the 2nd syllable. Nonetheless, for the word govern, the difference between the number of respondents who pronounced the word following General American word stress and those who deviated in all three groups was not great.

Concerning the second set which consists of 15 words stressed on the second syllable in General American (five two-syllable words, eight threesyllable, and two four-syllable), five words, namely direct, centennial, ingredient, certificate, and participate, were stressed by the three groups following General American word stress. All three groups deviated from General American in the stress given to four words: thereby, utensil, dioxide, and percentage, which were stressed on the 1st instead of on the 2nd syllable. It might be pointed out, however, that among the acrolectal group the difference between the number of respondents who pronounced percentage following General American and those who failed to do so was not large. With the word committee 50 percent of each group placed the stress on the 1st syllable, a deviation from General American while the other 50 percent placed the stress on the 2nd syllable. For the remaining five words: bamboo, precinct, throughout, lieutenant, and semester, the majority of the acrolectal group produced all five of them following the General American norm; the mesolectal group did so only with precinct and lieutenant, while the basilectal group missed on all five.

In the case of the third set of words — robust, centenary, despicable, and kilometer — made up of words which may be stressed on the 1st or 2nd syllable, all three groups showed a preference for stressing robust on the 1st but despicable and kilometer on the 2nd. As to centenary, whereas the acrolectal group stressed it on the 1st syllable, the other two groups stressed it on the 3rd syllable, a deviation from General American. Of the nine words (five foursyllable words and four five-syllable) that have primary and secondary stress on the 1st and 3rd syllables, all three groups followed General American norms with economics and economical but tended to favor the 2nd syllable in adolescence and antecedent, whose stress should fall on the 3rd syllable. The mesolectal and basilectal groups also stressed rehabilitate on the 2nd instead of on the 3rd syllable. As to the words cemetery and commentary, all three groups chose to place the primary stress on the 3rd syllable and the secondary stress on the 1st, which is a reversal of the General American norm. As for complimentary and documentary, the acrolectal group observed General American word stress pattern but the other two groups stressed the words on the 1st syllable.

Finally, of the seven words that are stressed on the 2nd and 4th syllables, specification and paraphernalia were stressed by all three groups according to the General American norm. All three groups, however, deviated from General American with itinerary, which should be stressed on both the 2nd and 4th syllables and preparatory, whose primary stress is on the 2nd syllable and whose secondary stress falls on the 4th. The groups stressed those words on the 1st syllable. The acrolectal group observed the General American norm with hereditary and interpretative (as did the mesolectal speakers), but not with pronunciation, while the basilectal group rendered pronunciation according to the General American norm, but diverged with hereditary and interpretative.

A lectal description of the phonological features of Philippine English 167

Where sentence stress is concerned, three types of stress were taken into account: normal stressing of the last content word in each breath group, contrastive stress to highlight contrasts, and emphatic stress to underscore a given point. The acrolectal and mesolectal groups more often than not stressed the last content word in breath groups, but this trend was not apparent in the basilectal group. Respondents in the basilectal group stressed function words and even stressed two words instead of just one in a breath group. In the case of contrastive stress, there were two lines in the elicitation instrument that called for the use of this stress:

Was it his sins or his parents' that caused him to be born blind? Some were claiming it was he; others maintained it was not.

The respondents in the acrolectal group followed the General American pattern in those lines to highlight the contrast. Almost all in the mesolectal group did this in the second line but not in the first line, where some stressed his in both instances. Respondents in the basilectal group did not use contrastive stress at all. With reference to emphatic stress, there were also two lines that necessitated the use of this stress:

When I did go and wash, I was able to see. Of you, my heart speaks; you my glance seeks.

Again, the acrolectal group made use of emphatic stress in both lines. The majority in the mesolectal group stressed *did* in the first line but only 50 percent stressed *you* in both instances in the second line. The use of emphatic stress was rare among the basilectal group.

For intonation, the use of three intonation patterns was scrutinized: the final and non-final 2-3-3 rising intonation, the non-final 2-3-2 rising-falling (back-to-normal) intonation, and the final 2-3-1 rising-falling (down-to-fade out) intonation (following the Prator 1957 system of intonation analysis). Four uses of the 2-3-3 rising intonation were elicited in the data-gathering texts the respondents read aloud. One was the final rising intonation in yes-no questions. The other three were the obligatory use of the non-final rising intonation on nominatives of address and on the non-final options in alternatives, and the optional use at the end of subordinate clauses appearing in sentence-initial position. These are shown in these lines taken from the text:

Final 2-3-3 in yes-no questions: Isn't this the fellow who used to sit and beg? Non-final 2-3-3 on nominatives of address: Hear, O Lord, ... Your presence, O Lord, ... Rabbi, ...

Non-final 2-3-3 on non-final options in alternatives:  $\dots$  was it his sins or his parents'  $\dots$ 

Non-obligatory non-final 2-3-3 in subordinate clauses in sentence initial position:

As Jesus walked along, ... When I did go and wash ...

In all three groups, the final rising intonation followed the General American pattern in yes-no questions but it diverged from this in alternative and wh-questions. In Philippine English, therefore, the use of the final rising intonation was favored for all types of questions, although the three groups were not consistent in their use of the non-final rising intonation on nominatives of address, on non-final options in alternatives, and on subordinate clauses in sentence-initial position.

The non-final rising-falling (back-to-normal) 2-3-2 intonation followed General American with all three groups at the end of breath groups within a sentence, and in final rising-falling (down -to-fade out) 2-3-1 intonation at the end of statements. The latter, however, was not used in questions where it was called for, i.e. wh- and alternative questions. Concerning juncture or pausing, the basilectal group observed syllable-timed instead of stress-timed rhythm. Thus, the respondents broke up the lines into very short units necessitating frequent pauses and giving the oral reading of the lines a staccato effect. This could be due to the fact that they were reading and not producing utterances spontaneously. Moreover, the respondents were not aware that variation in pausing could result in a change in the meaning of the utterance as shown in this line taken from the texts in the data-gathering instrument.

The people who were accustomed to see him begging began to ask ...

The text calls for a pause to be placed after and not before the word begging. Many of the respondents not only in the basilectal group but in the other two groups as well did not see the change in meaning that would result from variation in pausing and inserted a pause before begging.

The use of syllable-timed and not stress-timed rhythm also accounts for the lack of blending in rapid speech among the mesolectal and basilectal groups. In contrast, respondents in the acrolectal group used consonant-to-vowel blends, and the w and the y linkers to make the flow in an utterance smooth and effortless. This may be seen in these lines, taken from the texts used in the data-elicitation instrument.

#### Results and conclusion

A review of the developments in the evolving phonological features of the three varieties of Philippine English shows deviations from General American that either have remained stable or have changed through the years. The findings of this study are presented in two sections, one to cover the segmentals and the other the suprasegmentals.

### The segmental analysis of Philippine English

- 1. Substitution of absent categories like the consonant phonemes /f/ and /v/ with /p/ and /b/ respectively is resorted to by basilectal respondents that lack these phonemes in their native language. With the mesolectal group, the frequency of substitutions is not as significant with /f/ as it is with /v/. However, spelling pronunciation is true of both groups. Thus, there is no distinction in the pronunciation of the prepositions of and off although the former calls for the use of /v/ and the latter /f/.
- 2. For the sibilant /s/, which is a split category, the basilectal group uses it in lieu of /z/ and /ž/ and in combination with other sounds like /ts/ for /č/ and /ds/ for /j/ in word-final position but /dy/ in word-initial position. The mesolectal group, on the other hand, does not substitute /s/ for /z/ if the word is spelled with a /z/, again due to spelling pronunciation. All three groups, however, do not use /z/ in the plural -s or -es morpheme.
- 3. Although the earliest study of the phonetic features of Filipino English (Llamzon, 1969) found the Philippine English /r/ phoneme to be trilled, in later studies the /r/ phoneme among the basilectal and mesolectal groups has remained either rolled or one-tap, unlike that of the acrolectal group which now closely reflects the General American retroflex /r/.
- 4. Except for the acrolectal group in a few rare instances, none of the groups aspirate the voiceless stops bilabial /p/, alveolar /t/, and velar /k/ when these occur in syllable-initial position.
- 5. Concerning consonant clusters, the basilectal group adds a vowel before prothetic /s/ as in *spiritual* /is-pi-ri-tu-wal/ or inserts a vowel between the consonants in the cluster as in *trial* /ta-ra-yal/ when these appear in initial position. All three groups retain only /s/ and drop the other consonants in the cluster if these appear in word-final position.
- 6. The number of vowels in the basilect group's vowel phoneme inventory depends on the number of vowels in their native language. A native of Cebu, for example, would often have only one front vowel /i/, one mid vowel /a/, and one back vowel /u/. These are used in place of the other front, mid, and back vowels in English. The mesolectal group goes by

spelling pronunciation using only the vowels /i/, /e/, /ɛ/, /a/, /o/, /u/ and stressed schwa /a/. Vowels are given full value even if they occur in unstressed syllables. Hence, the basilectal and mesolectal groups do not produce syllabic consonants. The acrolectal group, on the other hand, closely approximates the vowel phoneme inventory of General American except for the phoneme /æ/ which is pronounced /æ/, /ɛ/, or /a/, depending on the attention paid to one's pronunciation. The acrolectal group observes the destressing of vowels rendering them /ɪ/ or unstressed schwa /ə/.

## The suprasegmentals of Philippine English

- 1. From the findings concerning word stress, it might be pointed out that there are words whose stress in all three varieties of Philippine English deviates from that of General American. Among these are words like colleague, govern, menu, baptism, hazardous, pedestal, and formidable, which are stressed on the 1st syllable in General American but are stressed in all three varieties of Philippine English on the 2nd syllable; words like thereby, utensil, dioxide, and percentage, which are stressed on the 2nd syllable in General American but are stressed on the 1st syllable in all three varieties of Philippine English; and words like adolescence and antecedent, which are stressed on the 3rd syllable in General American but on the 2nd in Philippine English. Those items will require further investigation as to their acceptability among educated Filipino circles before they can be considered phonetic features of Philippine English.
- 2. The following trends concerning word stress in Philippine English among mesolectal and basilectal groups will likewise warrant further investigation and verification:
  - a. With the addition of affixes to form four or five-syllable words (e.g. commentary and centenary), the mesolectal and basilectal varieties reveal a tendency to place stress on the penultimate syllable.
  - b. The two varieties tend to favor stressing the 2nd syllable in four or five-syllable words.
  - c. For some words that have both a primary and secondary stress (e.g. cemetery, commentary), there is a tendency in the two groups to interchange the two, placing the primary stress where the secondary should be and vice versa, an observation also noted in previous studies (Llamzon, 1969; Gonzalez and Alberca, 1978).
- 3. The use of the final rising intonation in all types of questions has remained stable in all three varieties of Philippine English. Even if some respondents in the acrolectal group made a distinction between the use of the final rising intonation in *yes-no* questions seeking information and the final

- rising-falling intonation in all other types of questions, there were also those who made no such distinction.
- 4. Although an earlier diachronic study of the phonetic features of Philippine English through generations (Gonzalez, 1984) indicated an increase in the use of the non-final rising intonation in alternatives and in a series, this has yet to be established as a stable feature of Philippine English. The data obtained in this study revealed that the use of the non-final rising intonation especially in nominatives of address is non-existent in the basilectal group, rare in the mesolectal group, and occasional in the acrolectal group.
- 5. The use of syllable-timed instead of stress-timed rhythm is considered stable in the basilectal and mesolectal varieties, which may be attributed to the fact that Philippine languages are syllable-timed.
- 6. While the use of consonant-to-vowel blends and the y and w linkers was evident among the acrolectal group, this was not true of the mesolectal and basilectal varieties.
- 7. Pause breaks in Philippine English sometimes fail to consider the change in meaning that results when the structure of embeddings is not taken into account.

On the whole, it might be pointed out that while the data obtained in this study have shown differences in the suprasegmental phonetic features of the three varieties of Philippine English, there is a need to further expand the investigation of word stress to include other words due to deviations from the stress patterns of General American, and to look into other non-final intonation patterns, pausing and blending — that is, the use of linkers — and other morphophonemic changes that occur at morpheme boundaries due to assimilation in rapid speech.

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## Appendix A

The consonant phonemes of the acrolect, mesolect, and basilect varieties of Philippine English compared with those of General American English:

| $\overline{}$          |                     | Place of Articulation |             |             |          |         |         |         |  |
|------------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|-------------|-------------|----------|---------|---------|---------|--|
|                        |                     | Bubbal                | Labsodestal | Intrologial | letoszik | Palatal | Veter . | Clottal |  |
|                        | Stop                | рb                    |             |             | t d      |         | k 9     | ?       |  |
| NO.                    | Fricative           |                       | f v         | <b>8 5</b>  | s z      | šž      |         | h       |  |
| E170                   | Affricative         |                       |             |             |          | ě J     |         |         |  |
| F ARTIC                | Nasal               | m                     |             | - 188       | n        |         | ŋ       |         |  |
| MANNER OF ARTICULATION | Lateral<br>Liquid   | - 10                  |             |             | ı        |         |         |         |  |
| ž                      | Retroflex<br>Liquid |                       |             |             | r        |         |         |         |  |
|                        | Glide               | w w                   |             |             |          | У       |         |         |  |

| $\overline{}$          |                     | Place of Articulation |             |                |          |         |       |         |  |  |  |  |
|------------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|-------------|----------------|----------|---------|-------|---------|--|--|--|--|
|                        |                     | Dilabia1              | Labrodestal | Interdental    | Alvecrat | Palatal | Vetar | Glottal |  |  |  |  |
|                        | Stop                | рЪ                    |             |                | t d      | - 450   | k 9   | 2       |  |  |  |  |
| MANNER OF ARTICULATION | Pricative           |                       | f v         | (t) (d)<br>θ δ | s z      | šž      |       | h       |  |  |  |  |
|                        | Affricative         |                       |             |                |          | č J     |       |         |  |  |  |  |
|                        | Nasal               | m                     |             | 133            | n        |         | ø     |         |  |  |  |  |
| NNERC                  | Lateral<br>Liquid   |                       |             |                | 1        | . 17    |       |         |  |  |  |  |
| X                      | Retroflex<br>Liquid |                       |             |                | r        |         |       |         |  |  |  |  |
|                        | Glido               | w                     |             |                |          | У       |       | 1976    |  |  |  |  |

1a General American English

1b Philippine English Acrolect Variety

| $\overline{}$          |                    | Place of Articulation |            |                |          |                |       |        |  |  |  |
|------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|------------|----------------|----------|----------------|-------|--------|--|--|--|
|                        |                    | Bilabial              | Labsalegul | Interdeutsi    | Alternal | Paletal        | Veler | Gloral |  |  |  |
|                        | Stop               | рЪ                    |            |                | t d      |                | k g   | 2      |  |  |  |
| NOI                    | Fricative          | 100                   | f v        | (t) (d)<br>θ δ | (5)<br>Z | (s) (s)<br>š ž |       | b      |  |  |  |
| CULAT                  | Affricative        |                       | 157        |                | 120K     | č ]            |       |        |  |  |  |
| MANNER OF ARTICULATION | Nesal              | m                     |            |                | n        |                | מ     |        |  |  |  |
|                        | Lateral<br>Liquid  |                       |            |                | 1        |                |       | - 8    |  |  |  |
|                        | Retroflex<br>Uquid |                       |            |                | ľ        | 449            | İ     |        |  |  |  |
|                        | Glide              | w                     |            |                |          | у              | 100   |        |  |  |  |

| `                      |                     |                 | ]           | Place of A  | <u>trticulati</u> | on      |       |         |
|------------------------|---------------------|-----------------|-------------|-------------|-------------------|---------|-------|---------|
|                        |                     | Dalabial        | Labrodestai | Introlesial | Alwersi           | Palatai | Weber | Clottal |
|                        | Stop                | p b             |             |             | t d               | Page.   | k 9   | ?       |
| ő                      | Frientive           |                 |             |             | s                 |         |       | h       |
| S                      | Affricative         | 601.00<br>10.00 |             |             |                   | ts dy   |       |         |
| MANNER OF ARTICULATION | Nasal               | m               |             |             | n                 |         | פ     | H.      |
| CXXEC                  | Lateral<br>Liquid   |                 |             |             | ı                 |         |       |         |
| ž                      | Retrollex<br>Liquid |                 |             |             | u                 |         |       |         |
|                        | Glide               | w               |             |             |                   | У       |       |         |

1c Philippine English Mesolect Variety

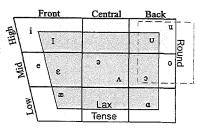
1d Philippine English Basilect Variety

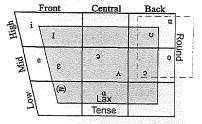
State of the Glotti

Voiceless Voiced

## Appendix B

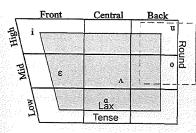
The vowel phonemes of the acrolect, mesolect, and basilect varieties of Philippine English compared with those of General American English:

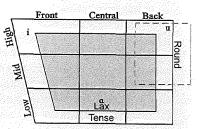




2a General American English

2b Philippine English Acrolect Variety





2c Philippine English Mesolect Variety

2d Philippine English Basilect Variety

Tense Vowels

Lax Vowels

## Appendix C

Sample lexical items stressed differently in Philippine English and General American English:

| AE stress placement    |       | $\overline{PE} - A$ | crole | et  | 1      | PE-N |     |     |       | PE - I |       |     |
|------------------------|-------|---------------------|-------|-----|--------|------|-----|-----|-------|--------|-------|-----|
| AE stress placement    | 1st Î | 2nd                 | 3rd   | 4th | 1st    | 2nd  | 3rd | 4th | 1st   | 2nd    | 3rd   | 4th |
|                        | 130   |                     |       |     |        |      |     |     |       |        |       |     |
| 1st Syllable:          | •     |                     |       |     |        |      |     |     |       |        |       |     |
| carton                 | ٠     |                     |       |     | ì      | ۰    |     |     | 1     | ۰      |       |     |
| colleague              |       |                     |       |     |        | •    |     |     |       | •      |       |     |
| govern                 |       | •                   |       |     | 1      |      |     |     | 1     | •      |       |     |
| menu                   |       | •                   |       |     |        | •    |     |     |       |        |       |     |
| rescue                 | •     |                     |       |     | "      |      |     |     |       |        |       |     |
| ancestors              | •     |                     |       |     |        |      |     |     | •     |        |       |     |
| baptism                |       | •                   |       |     | 1      | •    |     |     | \ _   | •      |       |     |
| government             | ۰     |                     |       |     | •      |      |     |     | "     | •      |       |     |
| hazardous              |       | ۰                   |       |     | !      | •    |     |     |       | -      |       |     |
| pedestal               |       | Φ                   |       |     | Í      | •    |     |     |       | ٠      |       |     |
| sabotage               | •     |                     |       |     | •      |      |     |     | •     |        |       |     |
| spiritual              | ۰     |                     |       |     | ì      | •    |     |     | 1     | ۰      |       |     |
| Spiritual              |       |                     |       |     |        |      |     |     | 1     | • "    |       |     |
| subsequent             | ۵     |                     |       |     |        |      |     | •   | •     |        |       |     |
| talented               | -     |                     |       |     | 1      | ۰    |     |     | 1     | ۰      |       |     |
| formidable             |       |                     |       |     |        |      |     |     | +     |        |       |     |
| 2nd Syllable:          | Ì     |                     |       |     |        |      |     |     |       |        |       |     |
| bamboo                 |       | •                   |       |     | •      |      |     |     | "     |        |       |     |
| direct                 | ļ     | •                   |       |     |        | •    |     |     |       |        |       |     |
| precinct               | 1     | •                   |       |     |        | •    |     |     | 1 -   |        |       |     |
| thereby                | ۰     |                     |       |     | •      |      |     |     | •     |        |       |     |
| throughout             |       | •                   |       |     |        |      |     |     | -     |        |       |     |
| centennial             | ì     | •                   |       |     | 1      | •    |     |     | 1     | •      |       |     |
| committee              |       | ۰                   |       |     |        | ۰    |     |     |       | •      |       |     |
| dioxide                |       |                     |       |     |        |      |     |     | •     |        |       |     |
| aroxiae                | l     | ۰                   |       |     | ļ      | •    |     |     |       | •      |       |     |
| ingredient             | 1     |                     |       |     | 1      | ۰    |     |     | •     |        |       |     |
| lieutenant             |       |                     |       |     |        |      |     |     |       |        |       |     |
| percentage             | *     |                     |       |     |        |      |     |     |       |        |       |     |
| semester               |       | -                   |       |     |        |      |     |     | 9     |        |       |     |
| utensil                | 1 -   | _                   |       |     | l      | ۰    |     |     | l     | •      |       |     |
| certificate            |       |                     |       |     |        |      |     |     | - 1   | •      |       |     |
| participate            | l     | -                   |       |     |        |      |     |     |       |        |       |     |
| 1st or 2nd Syllable:   | 1     |                     |       |     | 1      |      |     |     | 1 _   |        |       |     |
| robust                 |       |                     |       |     | •      |      |     |     | -     | •      | ۰     |     |
| centenary              | 0     |                     |       |     | ì      |      | ۰   |     | 1     | _      | •     |     |
| despicable             |       | ۰                   |       |     |        | ۰    |     |     |       | •      |       |     |
| kilom5eter             | }     | ۰                   |       |     | 1      | •    |     |     |       | •      |       |     |
|                        | +     |                     |       |     |        |      |     |     |       |        |       |     |
| 1st and 3rd Syllables: |       |                     |       |     | - 1    |      | ,   |     | - 1   | •      | ,     |     |
| adolescence            | 1     |                     |       |     | -      | -    | ,   |     |       | •      | ,     |     |
| antecedent             | ١.    | -                   |       |     | - 1 .  | . `  |     |     |       | 4      | •     | •   |
| cemetery               | ;     |                     | 6     |     |        |      | _   |     | -   . | 4      | •     | •   |
| commentary             | Ι'    | •                   | •     |     | - [ ]  |      | •   |     | - 1   |        | •     | •   |
| economics              |       |                     | •     | '   | - 1    | _    | 9   |     | .   . |        |       |     |
| complimentary          | ۱ '   |                     | •     | •   | '      |      |     |     |       |        |       |     |
| documentary            | 1.    | •                   | •     | •   | 1 '    | •    |     |     | 1 '   | -      |       | •   |
| economical             |       |                     | •     | ,   | i      |      | ٠   | '   |       |        | . `   |     |
| rehabilitate           | 1     |                     | •     | •   | - 1    | •    | •   |     |       |        | -<br> |     |
| 2nd and 4th Syllable   | -     |                     |       |     | $\neg$ |      |     |     |       |        |       |     |
| h and it               | 3.    |                     | •     | •   | :      |      |     | •   | •     |        |       |     |
| hereditary             | 1     |                     | •     |     | :      |      |     | •   | ,     |        |       |     |
| interpretative         | 1.    | •                   | -     |     | - 1    | •    |     |     | - 1   | •      |       |     |
| itinerary              | - [ ' | •                   |       |     | ,      |      |     |     | .     |        |       |     |
| paraphernalia          |       | _                   |       | •   | _ [    | ٥    |     |     | 1     |        | 4     |     |
| pronunciation          | -     | -                   |       |     |        |      |     |     | Į     | 8      |       |     |
| preparatory            |       | •                   |       |     |        | -    |     |     |       |        |       |     |
| specification          | 1     |                     |       |     | -      |      |     |     | - 1   |        |       |     |



## Lexicography and the description of Philippine English vocabulary

Kingsley Bolton and Susan Butler

#### Introduction

This chapter considers a range of issues related to the study of Philippine English vocabulary, including the importance of dictionaries in the legitimation of world Englishes, the description of lexical innovations, and the historical development and codification of the Philippine English lexicon. Historical sources show that Filipino words began to be borrowed into the English of the American colonizers at a very early stage in the colonial period. Today, the English used in the Philippines has a distinctive localized vocabulary which finds expression in a range of settings, including government, education, and the media as well as the personal domain. As yet, however, no comprehensive dictionary of Philippine English has been compiled, and those dictionaries with most authority remain the various editions of Merriam-Webster's, whose inclusion of a Philippine lexicon is largely limited to a colonial inventory of the tribes and products of the Philippine Islands dating from the early twentieth century. Despite the mechanisms of language contact and lexical innovation that characterize the creative, hybrid, and innovative cadences of contemporary Philippine English, major reference dictionaries, particularly the Merriam-Webster, have institutionalized a petrified lexicon of Philippine vocabulary derived from an era of American anthropology concerned with the study and classification of the native population. Recent attempts to promote dictionaries with a more authentic coverage of contemporary Philippine English vocabulary have been well-received, but have failed to gain a wide following. This failure may in part be explained by the broader history of the lexicography of Philippine languages, which dates from the sixteenth century, as well as a consideration of the sociolinguistic realities of the present.

## Describing the vocabulary of new Englishes

In the academic literature on world Englishes, a number of linguists have focused on the importance of the early contact period in contributing to the distinctiveness of the 'new Englishes' that have been established worldwide since the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In the case of the United States, Mencken (1919) in his The American Language provides a chronological account of American English that was largely motivated by his desire to demonstrate the autonomy and distinctiveness of the variety in comparison with the English of Britain. Much of his argumentation focuses on the contributions of successive waves of European immigrants in the New World, but he also makes the point that the initial phases of settlement were also important in contributing to the distinctiveness of this new American language, so that 'the earliest Americanisms were probably words borrowed bodily from the Indian languages — words, in the main, indicating natural objects that had no counterparts in England' ([1919] 1937). Turner (1994), in The Cambridge History of the English Language Volume V, notes that the distinctiveness of Australian English has its origins in processes of dialect leveling that occurred in the first convict settlements, and that:

The vocabulary of the language grew by borrowing from Aboriginal languages or by retaining or borrowing from English dialects, by extending the reference of existing resources or by conjoining existing elements in compounds or set phrases. The controlling force in directing the actual development of the language from these potential sources was the social experience of the inhabitants of Australia. (Turner 1994: 277)

In his account of the history of Australian English, Turner devotes fully half his chapter to a discussion of Australian English vocabulary. In this context, the history of the lexicon is explained with reference to such geographical, linguistic, and sociohistorical influences as the 'discovery' of Australia, Aboriginal languages, the convict settlements, climate, geography, agriculture, and gold-mining, as well as the development of 'modern' Australian social institutions. In another article by Bauer (1994) in the same volume, the importance of vocabulary in New Zealand English is also noted, and in the section of the chapter dealing with vocabulary, Bauer discusses a large number of influences, including Maori, British dialect words, Australianisms, changes of meaning, and New Zealand coinages. Again, Bauer emphasizes the importance of the early period of settlement in the formation of a distinct variety of New Zealand English.

Similar patterns of cultural and linguistic contact may be identified in the formation of other Englishes, even in those societies where English has traditionally been regarded as a second language, or 'outer-circle' variety. In

the case of contemporary Hong Kong English, for example, subsets of items in its lexicon may be traced back to much earlier varieties of English, notably the Canton 'jargon', 'Canton English' or 'Chinese pidgin English' of Canton (Guangzhou) and Macao during the era of the tea and opium trade between the mid-eighteenth century and the First Opium War in 1839 (Bolton, 2003). However, unlike the predominantly white 'settler' farming colonies of America, Australia and New Zealand, Hong Kong was largely an 'administrative' colony, where British colonial officials governed a predominantly southern Chinese immigrant population. The history of English under British colonial rule in Hong Kong from 1842 to 1997 was determined by the specific historical conditions that existed throughout various stages of colonial development, and the knowledge of English was confined to a minority of the population until the late stages of British colonialism.

The case of the Philippines was in some respects similar to that of Hong Kong, rather than Australia or New Zealand. The use of English in the Philippines was established and propagated by a small number of US colonial officials, and it was never the intention that the country be settled by large numbers of agricultural settlers from the homeland. In other respects, it was different, however. Whereas education in or through English in Hong Kong was traditionally restricted to a small number of students, mostly the sons of the merchant elite, in the Philippines the US colonial government established the first system of universal education through English in the early 1900s, aided and abetted by the youthful Thomasites. What was remarkable perhaps was the relative success of the whole venture. The Americans taught English, the Filipinos learned it remarkably rapidly, and within a few years a small army of 'native' teachers had been trained to carry on where the Thomasites had left off (Gonzalez, 1997).

One tendency that seems shared by many (if not all) varieties of world Englishes is that, for each of these varieties, there are typically distinctive sets of words that date back to the crucible stage of first contact and early development. In the Philippines, colonial officials, soldiers, sailors, and the Thomasites were confronted with a succession of new experiences, sights, sounds and tastes that they needed to interpret, and very often describe and name. In all such situations, during the colonial era, new lexical items were created through a number of linguistic processes, including (i) the borrowing of words from local languages, (ii) the borrowing from other Englishes, (iii) the formation of new words and new compounds in English, and (iv) the adaptation of the lexicon brought from the British or American homeland. In the Philippines, early borrowings from Tagalog include anting-anting ('an amulet'), pili ('a tree and its edible nut'), tuba ('an alcoholic drink made from coconut sap'), whereas borrowings from Spanish via Philippine languages include abaca, anito, barrio, and fiesta. One distinctive borrowing from American English is the somewhat archaic use of solon for 'law-maker' or 'legislator',

whereas new compounds include a range of items formed with barrio, e.g. barrio folk, barrio storytellers, barrio politician, barrio road, barrio elder, barrio life, barrio philosopher, etc.

The characteristics of the early layers of the lexicon in such contexts varied, though it seems that a number of these vocabularies were not only stratified temporally, but socially as well. In Australian English, a number of early items derived from the 'flash language' of convicts (Vaux, 1819), and throughout much of its history there was a degree of class stratification of language within the Australian English lexicon. In the very early stages, the distinction was between the language of the convicts and that of the administration, and later between the speech of freed convicts and the rural poor and that of the landed gentry and establishment. In the Philippine context, one might speculate that, during the period of Hispanic colonization, there may have been a similar divide between the language of the Spanish colonizers and that of the Filipinos, and that distinctions related to this may have been maintained in Philippine English. For example, many of the Spanish-derived items in contemporary Philippine English related to governmental and official usage, such as cedula (originally 'tax receipt', 'identity card'; now 'residence certificate'), and fiscal ('public prosecutor'), while others may have been derived from the lifestyles of Spanish settlers, for example pan de sal ('salted bread'), pina ('pineapple' and 'fabric made from pineapples'), sala ('living room'), and siesta ('midday or afternoon rest'). By contrast, it is possible to argue that items derived from Philippine languages speak more readily of the lives of subsistence farmers and fishermen. Early examples here would include bolo ('a long heavy knife'), camote ('sweet potato'), carabaos ('water buffalo'), ilang-ilang (a type of tree), nipa ('a palm of Southeast Asia, used for thatching'), etc.

Despite the fact that many of the early words borrowed into the Englishes of Australia, Hong Kong and the Philippines actually disappear from the language at some later stage of development, the continued use of many such items provides support for a discursive and investigative approach to lexical innovation in world Englishes that accommodates the notion of the historical 'layering' or stratification of such vocabularies. In the next section of this paper, we discuss a number of aspects of the historical layering of Philippine English.

## The codification of Philippine English vocabulary

As in other contexts to which English was transported, new words and expressions were coined by English speakers in the Philippines as they encountered unfamiliar flora and fauna, strange peoples, and the rather different social institutions indigenous to the islands or the legacy of Spanish

colonialism. In fact, the process of lexical innovation and vocabulary creation dates back to the early years of colonization, if not to the various American anthropological expeditions that were mounted before the US invasion in 1898. Evidence of this is available from a number of sources, including the letters and journals of the American 'Thomasite' teachers who were dispatched to every province in the islands between 1901 and 1910.

The experience of the early Thomasite teachers in their cultural and linguistic contact with the country was perhaps representative of that of many of the early American colonists who arrived in the Philippines, the texture of which can be observed in the memoirs that were left by those teachers, many of which were subsequently published in various forms (Freer, 1906; Marquardt, 1943; Perez, 1974). One little known memoir is that of the Thomasite Glenn H. Evans, who was based in Borongan, Samar, and excerpts of whose 1904 diary were published in the *Philippine Panorama* magazine in 1974. The extracts below show that, almost from the very beginning, these teachers were borrowing words from local languages into their writings (and no doubt their speech). These loanwords are italicized in the excerpts below:

Friday, Aug. 5

In evening a strong wind prevails. Rains nearly all day. At 10 p.m., baguio is blowing.

The nipa has blown off the roof and water is coming in streams. [...]

Tuesday, Aug. 9

After school the presidente sent over two boys who had been fighting [...]

Monday, Aug 15

This is a church *fiesta* "Assumption" I think, so we're unable to have school as all the teachers had to *pasingba*. Poggi and I went up to Calicoan where we eat dinner with Marie.

In p.m. Marie and I went out to her *pina* patch and got some *pina*. Stop at the *teniente's* house and learn how to make fire with *lotogotan*. (Evans, 1904)

William B. Freer's account of his experiences as a teacher in Nueva Vizcaya, The Philippine Experiences of an American Teacher (1906), is of interest both for its socio-historical commentary on the early colonial period and for the linguistic evidence that it provides of early language contact and lexical borrowing in Philippine English. Freer incorporates a substantial number of Philippine words into his memoir, chiefly by 'borrowing' items from Spanish and Philippine languages. These are generally (but not always) italicized throughout the body of his text and variably glossed in the text, while, at the end of the book, Freer provides the reader with a 'List of Spanish and Philippine Terms used in this Volume'. The glossary he sets out contains some 187 items, of which the vast majority are words of Spanish origin, numbering

153 items in all. This compares with nineteen words in Tagalog, seven in the Bicol dialect, four in Moro, two in Gaddan, and one in Igorrote. Spanish words in the list include such items as:

abaca 'Manila hemp', abeja 'bee', alcalde 'mayor', alegria 'joy', aspirante 'aspirant', baile 'ball, dance', bailarina 'belle at a ball', banquete 'banquet', barrio 'hamlet', camisa 'shirt', centavo 'cent', Chino 'Chinese (n.)', compañero 'companion', Dios 'God', divino 'devine', fiesta 'festival', fiscal 'prosecuting attorney', gallo 'rooster', gracias · Dios 'thank God', habichuelas 'kidney-beans', hombre 'man', iglesia 'church', jugador 'gambler', lavandero 'washman', madrina 'godmother', maestro/a 'teacher', Mayo 'May', muy 'very', normalista 'normalite', novenario 'novenary', olla 'earthen pot for cooking', padre 'father', pan 'bread', partido 'district', porqué 'why', presidencia 'town-hall', quelis 'a two-wheeled coach', sensillo 'simple', seno 'gulf', sí 'yes', siete 'seven', tuba 'coconut sap', vamos 'come', vino 'wine', zacate 'grass.

## Examples of Tagalog-labeled words include:

anito 'spirit', anting-anting 'a magic charm', baguío 'typhoon', banca 'a dugout canoe', baroto 'a large dug-out canoe', bolo 'a knife used for working or fighting', burí 'a species of palm and its fibre', buyo 'a mixture for chewing', calao 'a bird with a spoon bill', carabao 'water buffalo', ilang-ilang 'a tree', lukban 'grape fruit', malilipot 'cold', molave 'a tree and its wood', nipa 'a kind of palm and its foliage', salâmat 'thank you', sarong 'a loose, skirt-like garment', talisay 'a tree', tao 'peasant'. (Freer, 1906)

The seven listed Bicol items are: bíjog 'a copper coin', bofiga 'betel-nuts', gulay 'cooked vegetables, a sauce', mayo 'none', pili 'a tree', sinaput 'bananas fried in batter', and talabón 'a chair carried by men'. The four Moro-labeled items are barong 'warrior's knife', campilán 'a short sword', kris 'a two-edged short sword', and parao 'a sail boat'; the two words from the 'Gaddan' dialect are guruck 'a small bird', and guruckira 'plural of guruck'; and the single 'Igorrote' item is palupati 'a bird'.

With reference to the Freer list described above, we were interested in the extent to which words that were early borrowings in this variety were still to be found in the language. In fact, by using the database of Asian Englishes that *Macquarie* has compiled in Sydney called *Asiacorp*, we were able to check how many of these items were still 'in the language'. The results showed that of the 187 items, 107 (57.2%) could be found in *Asiacorp* at the time we carried the search in early 2001. At the time, the *Asiacorp* database for the Philippines comprised texts that were mainly drawn from literary sources, and it is possible that a number of these items exist mainly as 'relic' items, which are already archaic. Nevertheless, it is evident that a substantial number of words in the Freer glossary are still in everyday usage, all of which, we concluded, lent credence to the notion of an early stratum in Philippine English vocabulary (Bolton and Butler, 2004).

## The Philippines in Webster's dictionary

Another important influence on the codification of the Philippine English lexicon has been that of various editions of Webster's dictionary. Yap's (1970) study of 'Pilipino loan words in English' was based on the analysis of two versions of the Webster's dictionary, the (1961) Webster's New International Dictionary of the English Language and the renowned (1968) Webster's Third New International Dictionary of the English Language. The major part of this study consists of a list of Philippine words 'formally borrowed' into American English based on her analysis of the two dictionaries. The author classifies such items in terms of 'flora and fauna', with items such as balete, bangkal, carabao, 'names of cultural minorities' Aklan, Bontok, Moro, etc.; and 'household and cultural items' e.g. anting-anting, balut, patis, tuba, etc. With reference to the Webster's entries she draws on, Yap comments thus:

Most of the words listed date back to the period when the country was under foreign domination. In addition to their linguistic value, these words give interesting information on the history of foreign contacts with Philippine population and reenforce [sic] the dating of cultural influence. (Yap, 1970: Preface)

Indeed, what strikes one forcibly about the vocabulary cited by Yap (see Appendix) is that so many items are purely related to an inventory of Philippine flora and fauna and the listing of the various ethnic groups of the nation. Only a small subset of words in the list can be seen as representative of present-day Philippine English in its various manifestations through the spoken language, television, the print media, etc.

In addition to considering the lexicon of 'Webster words' in Yap, we also checked a recent online version of the Webster's dictionary. In December 2002, we accessed the Webster's Third New International Dictionary, Unabridged online, in order to ascertain whether the Webster's lexicon described by Yap had been extended in any way, to update the relevance of its entries. The somewhat archaic vocabulary detailed by Yap was still very much in evidence in the Webster's of the information age. In the Appendix, we produce a wordlist for Philippine English derived from the Internet version.¹ Of the total of 287 items in the online Webster's, 157 (54.7%) of these were also included in the earlier Yap (1970) list. A check of the OED revealed that 37 (12.9%) of the 'Webster words' were also included in the Oxford English Dictionary (online version). The OED coverage is actually quite limited, with an overall total of approximately 65 items that might be classified as Philippine English words and expressions (see Appendix).

In some senses, therefore, it might appear that the most authoritative guide to the core of the Philippine English lexicon is that provided by Webster's

Lexicography and the description of Philippine English vocabulary 183

as detailed by Yap (1970) and the latest online edition of Webster's Third New International Dictionary, Unabridged. However, one major problem with this is the fact that the vocabulary in both sources represents an archaic and petrified version of Philippine vocabulary, dating from the 1910s and 1920s. A major reason for this is suggested by Yap in her Preface, where she quotes the introduction to the (1961) Webster's New International Dictionary of the English Language to the effect that a major source for Philippine entries in this work was a volume by Alfred L. Kroeber (1928) titled Peoples of the Philippines, which was first published in 1919. Alfred Kroeber was a distinguished Berkeley Professor who had been trained by Franz Boas, whose work on the Philippines is an unreconstructed study of the 'primitive' natives of the Philippine Islands, with tribes variously classified as 'Christian', 'Mohammedan', 'Pagan' or 'Pagan Negrito'. The photographs in the volume include bare-breasted Negritos, a Bisaya girl (Malayan type), a Tagalog man (Malayan type), etc. Given the Kroeber connection, the 'Webster words' (Appendix) might thus be interpreted as tokens of the colonial inventory of peoples and places, produced by a generation of American anthropologists, botanists, zoologists and other academics who took a panoptic interest in the US's first colony of note. Kroeber's bibliography includes references to Blair and Robertson's massive (1903-09) The Philippine Islands, 1493-1803, as well as to work by such early authorities as H. O. Beyer (Population of the Philippine Islands in 1916), L. R. Sullivan (responsible for the study 'Racial types in the Philippine Islands', 1918) and Dean C. Worcester (author of such papers as Headhunters of Northern Luzon, 1912; as well as the influential The Philippines Past and Present, 1914).

## Contemporary Philippine English vocabulary: Toward a new lexicography

The gap between the archaic lexicon of colonial anthropology and botany represented by 'Webster words' and the reality of English usage in the Philippines today is enormous. Not only is the institutionalized Webster's lexicon hopelessly archaic, but it is also totally inadequate for capturing the vibrant creativity of a hybrid and irreverent tropical English in full flight. In the Philippine English-language daily newspapers, for example, politicians are found guilty of economic plunder ('large-scale embezzlement of public funds') or challenged by the press in ambush interviews ('surprise interviews'); corrupt cops are accused of coddling criminals ('treating leniently'), or mulcting ('extorting money from') motorists. Hapless citizens borrow money from five-six money lenders ('borrowing at high rates of interest', i.e. borrowing five thousand and returning six within a month or even a week). Meanwhile, motorists stuck in traffic get high blood ('enraged') in frustration, and the affairs of various topnotchers ('high achievers') fill the gossip columns. Recently, the

authors of this chapter collaborated on compiling the Asian Corpus of Computerized English Newspaper Texts (the ACCENT Corpus), which we have used to identify and describe the localized vocabularies of Asian Englishes, and to search for and retrieve instances of localized vocabularies of English usage.<sup>2</sup> For example, a search of the *Philippine Inquirer* in the ACCENT database reveals the following attestations for the items mentioned above (bold added for emphasis):

In an **ambush interview**, the President cautioned his critics against pursuing moves to "incite" a "revolution" to protest his possible acquittal. (*Philippine Inquirer*, January 17, 2002)

"We cannot understand why up to now, Camp Crame has failed to neutralize these gangs that are being **coddled** by officers [...]," Gullas explained. (*Philippine Inquirer*, February 27, 2002)

OMBUDSMAN Aniano Desierto said that he expects former president Joseph Estrada to again refuse to enter a plea during his arraignment Monday afternoon on the charge of **economic plunder**. (*Philippine Inquirer*, July 10, 2001)

"Today my family has a total debt of P70,000 from three usurers or the socalled 'five-six' money lenders to be able to maintain our grocery and fresh coconut business," Benigno lamented. (*Philippine Inquirer*, January 1, 2002)

Who knows? You may even avoid getting **high blood** from a city snarled to standstill by traffic. (*Philippine Inquirer*, February 9, 2002)

Gualberto said his men started conducting operations against "hard-knock" mulcting cops and traffic enforcers early Monday morning due to mounting complaints against them. (*Philippine Inquirer*, July 5, 2002)

Ms Macapagal recalled at that occasion how it was her father, President Diosdado Macapagal, who had convinced the young **topnotcher**-lawyer from Harvard-Yale to enter politics. (*Philippine Inquirer*, March 6, 2002)

Although previously there was relatively little research on the contemporary Philippine English lexicon, some linguists have carried out studies in this area, notably Tabor (1984), Cruz and Bautista (1995), and Bautista (1997). In this latter study, Bautista's analysis of Philippine English vocabulary items recognizes four major categories of localized vocabulary:

- (i) items derived from 'normal expansion' of reference, such as bath, blowout, brown-out, fiscalize, motel, province, and topnotcher;
- (ii) the 'preservation of items' lost or infrequent in other varieties of English, e.g. city folk, solon, viand;

- (iii) 'coinage', with neologisms such as awardee, carnapper, cockfighter, masteral, and studentry, as well as clippings, abbreviations, innovations, and compounds as in aircon, promo, supermart; DH, NIC, TY; Taglish, trapo, pomdi; blue-seal, dirty kitchen, macho dancer.
- (iv) 'borrowings', e.g. items borrowed from Philippine languages (such as lapu-lapu, pasalubong, Pinoy, etc.) as well as Spanish (despedida), Chinese (feng shui) and other languages.

The linguistic research of Bautista and others in this area underpinned one recent attempt by the Philippine publisher Anvil, in conjunction with the Macquarie organization, to produce a dictionary with a genuine Philippine perspective for use in the nation's high schools. The result of this collaboration was the Anvil-Macquarie Dictionary of Philippine English for High School (Bautista and Butler, 2000). Although this might be regarded as only an initial step toward producing a fuller national dictionary of Philippine English, the specimen items reproduced below give some idea of the scope and range of the project. The ethos of the dictionary was explained in a brochure produced by Anvil-Macquarie to introduce the volume to teachers and to the public, where it is noted that: 'The words that are peculiar to a particular variety of English are developed from the contexts, both physical and social, of that language community. They are significant because they go to the heart of the local culture and mark out that community as different from others in its history, its way of life, its attitudes and its traditions' (Anvil-Macquarie, 2000: 2).

- academician noun 1. Philippine English a teacher in a college, university, or institution of higher education. NOTE This word is from the French académicien.
- advanced adjective 1. forward or ahead in place or time: with one foot advanced / an advanced age 2. especially skilled: an advanced class in French 3. Philippine English Informal (of a watch, clock, etc.) fast: My watch is advanced.
- American adjective 1. having to do with the United States of America: an American citizen. noun 2. a citizen of the United States of America.

  3. Philippine English Informal anyone with fair skin regardless of nationality: that tourist is American.
- **bagoong** *noun* **U** (in Philippine cookery) shrimp or fish paste, used as an accompaniment to green mangoes or as a condiment. *NOTE* This word is borrowed into English from Tagalog.
- balut noun (in Philippine cookery) a boiled duck egg in which the embryo is just starting to form; considered a delicacy. NOTE This word is borrowed into English from Tagalog.
- basi noun U a Philippine home-made ALCOHOLIC drink produced from SUGAR CANE.
- **bedspacer** noun Philippine English someone who stays in a dormitory or shared room of a boarding house but does not take meals there.

- **blow-out** noun 1. Economics an excess on the limits of a budget, usually as a result of inflation: a blow-out in the budget 2. Philippine English a treat, such as a dinner at a restaurant, given for a number of friends or colleagues in celebration of an event such as gaining promotion or closing a deal.
- boss noun 1. someone who employs and directs people, or controls a business
  2. Philippine English a form of address to waiters, porters, etc. verb 3. If you boss someone, you order them around. bossy, adjective.
- calachuchi noun Philippine English  $\rightarrow$  fangipani. Also, kalatsutsi. NOTE This word is borrowed into English from Tagalog.
- carless adjective Philippine English If you are carless, you are without your car in accordance with Manila's Unified Traffic Scheme by which cars are banned from the roads on certain weekdays according to the digit in which their registration number ends.
- coconut water noun Philippine English → coconut milk.
- **comfort room** noun Philippine English a room equipped with TOILET, washing facilities, etc.
- despedida noun Philippine English a farewell party for someone about to go overseas or leave a job or company.
- dirty kitchen noun Philippine English a kitchen for everyday use or use by maids, as opposed to a kitchen used for show or by the owner of the house.
- **dormmate** noun Philippine English someone who stays in the DORMITORY as you do.
- duhat noun Philippine English a plant with a violet berry with white flesh.
  ANOTHER NAME for this is lomboy.
  NOTE This word is borrowed into English from Tagalog.
- **encargado** *noun Philippine English* a person in charge of property as an agent or representative of the owner. *NOTE* This word is borrowed into English from Spanish.
- estafa noun Philippine English a financial fraud that is a criminal offense, such as giving someone a check when you know that there is not enough money in your account for it. NOTE This word is borrowed into English from Spanish.
- Filipinism noun 1. U Philippine national pride or patriotism. 2. a Philippine English expression: 'Close the light' is a Filipinism for 'turn off the light'.
- fiscal adjective 1. Something fiscal has to do with financial matters, particularly those administered by the government: the fiscal year: noun 2. Philippine English an official having the function of a public prosecutor.
- frigidaire noun Philippine English a special appliance for keeping food and drink cool. NOTE This word is from a trademark. ANOTHER WORD for this is refrigerator.
- gobernadorcillo noun a municipal mayor during the period of Spanish control.
  NOTE This word is borrowed from Spanish gobernador governor.
- grease money noun U Philippine English Informal a small bribe.
- hacendero noun Philippine English the proprietor of a hacienda; land owner; landlord. NOTE This word is borrowed into English from Spanish.
- halo-halo noun U 1. a Philippine dessert or snack consisting of a colorful mixture of local fruits and confectionary in shaved ice and milk, usually

- holdupper noun Philippine English someone who commits a hold-up or robbery. ilustrado noun (in Philippine history) a member of the educated and wealthy elite during the period of Spanish control. NOTE This word is borrowed into English from Spanish and means 'enlightened'.
- ipil noun a Philippine and the Pacific island tree which provides a valuable brown dye and which has a hard dark wood. NOTE This word is borrowed into English from Spanish and ultimately Tagalog.
- joke noun 1. something which is said or done to make people laugh. phrasal verb: 2. joke only, Philippine English Informal an expression used to indicate that something is meant teasingly and not seriously: Hey, don't be upset—that was joke only. joke, verb (joked, joking) –joker, noun –jokingly, adverb.
- kundol noun Philippine English a large MELON with white flesh, used in cooking or eaten raw; winter melon.
- lechon noun a whole roasted suckling pig, often served as the centerpiece of a Philippine banquet. NOTE This word is borrowed into English from Spanish, from leche milk.
- lumpia noun a Philippine savory similar to a spring roll, usually with a vegetable filling. • NOTE This word is borrowed into English from Chinese, probably Hokkien or Cantonese.
- marketing noun U 1. the selling of a product, involving development of a plan for setting it, usually including advertising. 2. Philippine English shopping for food and daily needs: My mother does the marketing after school. NOTE In standard American English, shopping would be used for definition 2.
- musang noun Philippine English a cat-like animal of southern Asian and Africa.
  NOTE This word is borrowed into English from Malay and is another name for the civet cat.
- narra noun 1. a tree yielding a hard, strong wood used for furniture and for floors and stairs; the national tree of the Philippines. 2. U the wood of this tree; Philippine mahogany. NOTE This word is borrowed into English from Tagalog.
- nata de pinya noun U a Philippine dessert made from a type of mold that grows on pineapple. NOTE This word is borrowed into English from Spanish and means literally 'pineapple cream'.
- off day noun Philippine English a day that you take off work, especially because you are sick. NOTE Elsewhere an off day is one in which you are not performing at your best for whatever reason.
- pinakbet noun U a Philippine dish consisting of vegetables sautéed in fish or shrimp paste and sometimes garnished with pork crackling. NOTE This word is borrowed into English from Ilocano.
- province noun 1. a division of a country or region. phrasal verb 2. the province, Philippine English any place outside the city Manila: I don't want to live in the province. provincial, adjective.
- rainy season noun Philippine English a period of high RAINFALL that happens regularly each year.
- sala noun Philippine English a living room. NOTE This word is borrowed into English from Spanish.

- **sayang** *interj Philippine English* an exclamation expressing sympathy. *NOTE* This word is borrowed into English from Tagalog.
- stampita noun Philippine English a small religious picture, given as a souvenir of someone's First Communion or as a prize in a Catholic school, and usually used to mark a place in book. NOTE This word is borrowed into English from Spanish estampita.
- Taglish noun a hybrid of Tagalog and English; a variety of Philippine English heavily influenced by Tagalog, often involving switching between the languages; mix-mix.
- tapa noun U (in Philippine cookery) sliced dried meat, either pork, beef or venison. NOTE This word is borrowed into English from Tagalog.
- utang na loob noun U Philippine English a feeling that you owe someone a moral debt because of something they have done for you. NOTE This word is borrowed into English from Tagalog and means literally 'internal debt'.
- viand noun Philippine English a dish, usually containing meat, which accompanies rice in a meal.
- watch-your-car noun Philippine English an unlicensed attendant who guards and sometimes cleans parked cars in return for tips.
- yaya noun Philippine English a female servant employed to look after children.

(Sample entries from Bautista and Butler, 2000, the Anvil-Macquarie Dictionary of Philippine English for High School)

It appears doubtful, however, that the Philippine community is ready to respond positively to the introduction of locally-compiled and locally-edited dictionaries in the way that Australian schools and colleges have done since the 1980s. Although the Anvil-Macquarie dictionary project described above drew strong support from many academics and educators, versions of the Merriam-Webster's dictionaries continue to dominate the market, despite the archaic and scanty coverage of Philippine English they include. The prospects for alternative approaches at present seem poor, despite rather favorable attitudes to Philippine English vocabulary among many academics and highschool teachers (Bautista, 2001; Bolton and Butler, 2004). Here, one major problem appears to be that while the study of this localized Philippine lexicon provides a rich research field for sociolinguists and scholars of English varieties, the compilation of an officially-sanctioned dictionary of Philippine English seems to hold little attraction for government officials and most publishers. One reason for this is undoubtedly the continuing power and prestige of forms of American English within Philippine society (in the era of the expanding call center industry), but a range of other explanations also emerge from the broader history of Philippine lexicography. A fuller understanding of the place of the Philippine English lexicon also needs to incorporate the history of the lexicography of the indigenous languages of the Philippines.

## Philippine lexicography, 1521-present

The history of dictionaries and dictionary-making in Philippine society has been intertwined with that of colonialism and its aftermath. The Spanish colonists who established themselves in the decades following Magellan's landfall in 1521 soon found themselves governing 'a group of islands populated by different, though related groups, speaking a large number of different dialects and languages, and having a multitude of sectional interests' (Frei, 1959: 22). There was no sense of nationhood throughout the islands, as nationalism was a movement that emerged toward the end of the Spanish era, largely in response to colonialism itself. Nor did the Philippines have a strong literary culture that could outlive European intrusion, comparable to that of Sanskrit and Chinese. Although Philippine scripts did exist prior to the arrival of the Spanish, most such texts, written on palm leaves and bamboo, were destroyed or lost in the early Spanish period. According to scholars, such scripts were derived from the Indic Old Kawi script of Java, one variety of which has survived in the Mangyan script of Mindoro, where such writing is used for love songs and correspondence (Coulmas, 1996; Kuipers and McDermott, 1996).

Modern lexicographical scholarship began with the Spanish missionaries, who responded to the need to translate the word of the Catholic Church into the indigenous languages and compiled numerous dictionaries of Tagalog and other languages as early as the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Such work included Father Pedro de San Buenaventura's (1613) Vocabulario de la Tagala, and Mentrida's (1637) Bocabulario de Lengua Bisaia Hiligayna y Haraia de la Isla de Panai y Sugbu, y para las de mas Islas (Hidalgo, 1977). Scores of dictionaries and grammars followed and by the mid-nineteenth century, the Spanish friars had compiled dictionaries of not only Tagalog and Visayan, but also Gaddang, Ilocano, Hiligaynon, Ibinag, Kampampangan, Bicol, Pangasinan, Chamorro, and Cebuano (Hidalgo, ibid.: 33). From the outset, Tagalog appeared to gain most support from the friars, and here Hidalgo quotes Father Pedro Chirino's admiration for the language:

It has the abstruseness and obscurity of the Hebrew; the articles and distinctions in proper as well as in common nouns of the Greek; the fullness and elegance of the Latin; and the refinement, polish and courtesy of the Spanish. (Chirino, 1604, cited in Hidalgo, 1977: 12)

While the origins of the Philippine national language movement may be traced back to the pioneering scholarship of Spanish friars, the American contribution to Philippine lexicography was somewhat limited, although anthropological linguists such as Frank R. Blake of Johns Hopkins University chronicled not only contemporary American linguists' endeavors but also the

work of the Spanish missionary linguists who had preceded them (Blake, 1911, 1920, 1922). For Blake, like Chirino three centuries earlier, Tagalog was the chosen language, and he asserted that:

If Filipinos are destined ever to have a national language in which a national literature can be written, that language will almost surely be Tagalog, the language of the capital city, a language admirably suited by the richness of form and its great flexibility for literary development, and needing but the master hand of some great native writer to make it realize its latent possibilities. (Blake, 1911: 457)

Domestic Philippine linguistics in the context of the national language movement dates from the late nineteenth century, and gained pace with the foundation of a Department of Oriental Languages at the University of the Philippines in the early 1920s, and through the support of such national language advocates as Lope K. Santos and Norberto Romualdez in the 1930s (Frei, 1959). The National Language Act passed by the first National Assembly of the Commonwealth in 1936 established a *National Language Institute* to help plan the eventual 'evolution and adoption' of the Philippine national language, and in December 1937, President Quezon signed an executive order designating Tagalog as the basis for the national language of the Philippines (Frei, 1959: 82).

In the post-war and post-colonial period since 1945, the efforts of national language scholars have been to promote the national language. In 1959, this was renamed Pilipino, and its word stock expanded to allow borrowings from other Philippine languages, Spanish and English. Later, in 1973, the name of the national language was again changed, this time to Filipino (Gonzalez, 1998). However, it was not until 1989 that Linnangan Ng Mga (Institute of National Language, from 1992 renamed the Commission on Filipino Language) published the first authoritative monolingual dictionary, the Disyunaryo ng Wikang Filipino (INL-IMC 1989). The publication of the dictionary is seen by Newell (1991: 49), as a 'milestone in national language development' and a publication that symbolizes that 'the national language has come of age'. Other commentators have been more skeptical, and Zorc (1991), for example, notes that comprehensive dictionaries of the language are simply too expensive for most teachers and that, whatever its symbolic importance, 'a dictionary is unlikely to replace media and word-of-mouth as the vehicle for National Language formation in the Philippines' (Zorc, 1991: 2570).

One obvious argument in this context is that the national-language formation process in the Philippine context is barely complete, and that those dictionaries that do exist lack the power and prestige of national dictionaries in Europe and the US. In a society where language issues are deeply 'enmeshed in politics' (Kaplan and Baldauf, 2003: 80), it is also possible that the relative

weakness of national language development may also reflect a Philippine nationalism incomplete, a nationalism interrupted by US colonialism, war, and the often turbulent politics of the present and recent past. In this context, it is perhaps unsurprising that there is little real market demand for a comprehensive dictionary of Philippine English. Yet another complicating factor is the hybrid nature of the Filipino language itself, with some linguists estimating that as many as thirty percent of Filipino word roots are loanwords from Spanish, Malay, Chinese and English. In recent years, the national language has borrowed voraciously from English, often relexifying vocabulary according to the norms of Filipino orthography with such items as basketbol, haiskul, rekord, pulis, telebisyon, taksi, tiket, and weyter, which in turn raises multiple questions concerning the dynamics of language contact and the lexicons of new Englishes (McFarland, 1998; McFarland, this volume). Meanwhile, numerous editions of Merriam-Webster spread large across the dictionary shelves of the National Book Store and most other Philippine bookshops, despite the particular historical origins, attitudinal bias, and limitations of the Webster's coverage of Philippine English vocabulary.

#### Conclusion

This paper has considered a range of issues relevant to the study of Philippine English vocabulary. We began with a survey of various approaches to the description of vocabulary, and then moved to a discussion of the development of the Philippine English lexicon. One key element here is an awareness of the layering and stratification of the vocabulary of new Englishes, temporally and socially. In the former context, the quotations from Evans (1904) and Freer (1906) suggest that Filipino words began to be borrowed into the everyday English of the American colonizers at a very early stage of cultural contact. As the Philippines proceeded through various stages of political and social development, this lexicon has changed in pace with the sociolinguistic realities of the day. In the contemporary era, the English used in such domains of public life as personal communication, the print media, and creative literature has a creative and vibrant word stock that directly reflects the hybridity of life in Philippine society. This is evidenced through the language of the press, as well as recent studies of Philippine vocabulary (Cruz and Bautista, 1995; Bautista, 1997). Despite this, we are still left with the continued and persistent afterlife of the 'Webster words' included in the Appendix, which for the most part represent an inventory of the tribes and products of the Philippine Islands derived from the colonial anthropology of the American occupiers, all of which might be regarded as historically quaint and harmless were it not the case that Webster's dictionary is still regarded as the ultimate authority on English in the Philippines.

One example where historical racism rises to the surface comes in Webster's Unabridged online entry for nigger, which in one sub-entry is blithely glossed as 'a member (as an East Indian, a Filipino, an Egyptian) of any very darkskinned race'. Notwithstanding the added caveat 'usually taken to be offensive', many Filipinos would surely be surprised that they are cited as illustrative examples for this entry. Within the folk memory of the Philippines, the 'n' epithet remains most closely associated with the bloody American suppression of the Philippine independence movement between 1899 and 1902, when the word in question was a favored name for the insurrectos who had challenged the arrival of US troops. In fact, a number of African-American troops were deployed by the US army in the Philippine-American War, and even they expressed a dislike of the racism displayed toward the local population. Silbey (2007) quotes one African-American soldier who commented that: 'I feel sorry for [the Filipinos] and all that have come under control of the United States ... The first thing in the morning is the "Nigger" and the last thing at night is the "Nigger" (Silbey, 2007: 111). That this ethnologically infamous label should still be attached to the citizens of one of the US's closest Asian allies, enshrined in the major reference work for the language, not only raises doubts about the exact relevance of Webster's to the Philippines, but also throws into relief the justification and need for a new lexicography for Philippine English.

#### Notes

1. The glosses reproduced in the Appendix to this article are much abbreviated. The inventorial quality of the entries is in fact much clearer in the original glosses, where the products of Philippine agriculture are often defined in terms of their usefulness, and ethnic groups are variously classed as 'Christianized' or 'pagan', as in the examples below:

aua-hau

Function: noun

Inflected Form(s): -s

Etymology: Tagalog and Hiligaynon anahaw

: a tall Philippine palm (*Livistona rotundifolia*) yielding a valuable wood used for golf clubs, a fiber used for bowstrings, and leaves used for thatching and for hats and fans

la-ne-te

Function: noun

Inflected Form(s): -s

Etymology: Tagalog laniti

: any of several Philippine trees or their wood: a: a valuable timber tree (Wrightia laniti of the family Apocynaceae) with soft wood that is used for carving and for musical instruments b: a tree (Allaeanthus luzonicus) of the family Moraceae having leaves and flowers that are cooked for food

Inflected Form(s): plural bagobo or bagobos

Usage: usually capitalized

la: a predominantly pagan people inhabiting southern Mindanao, Philippines b:

a member of such people

2: the Austronesian language of the Bagobo people

isi-nai

Function: noun

Inflected Form(s): plural isinai or isinais

Usage: usually capitalized

1a: a Christianized people of Nueva Vizcaya, Luzon, Philippines b: a member of such people

2: the Austronesian language of the Isinai people

- The research described here was supported by a generous grant from the Research Grants Committee of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (HKSAR), research grant number: 10203562/07744/04300/324/01.
- McFerson (2002) explains that prior to the American occupation of the country, there had been a 'flexible' colonial Spanish racial tradition, which 'emphasize[d] classification based on phenotypic criteria, including gradients of color and physical features', which recognized a hierarchy of racial groups ranging, at the bottom, from 'negroid Aetas' to 'pure' Spanish, with creoles, mestizos, and 'Sangley mestizos' (the offspring of Chinese men and Malay women) (19-20). She further comments that '[i]nto this complicated and nuanced pool of racial mixtures and variable degrees of discrimination, the Americans landed with a dull splash in 1898', bringing with them a far more rigid racial tradition, which by the 1918 census was reified in the racial categories of Yellow, White, Negro, Half-Breed, and Brown' (23-24). Kramer (2006) also provides an extensive historical account of the issue of race and American's relationship with the Philippines.

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## Appendix: 'Webster words' and the codification of Philippine English

| Word           | Short gloss (abbreviated from the original)       | Yap<br>(1970)           | OED<br>(2003) | M-W<br>(2003)                          |
|----------------|---|-------------------------|---------------|--|
| abaca          | a fiber obtained from the banana plant            |                         |               | <b>√</b>                               |
| Abenlen        | an ethnic group in western Luzon                  | V                       | _             | Ż                                      |
| acapulco       | a type of plant                                   | _                       | _             | Ż                                      |
| achara         | a type of pickle                                  | $\checkmark$            | _             |  |
| acle           | a tree, a type of wood                            | Ý                       |               | √<br>√                                 |
| adlay          | a variety of grass                                | Ų.                      |               | V                                      |
| adobo          | a Philippine dish                                 | ,                       |               | v.                                     |
| Aeta           | an ethnic group in Zambales and Bataan            | 1                       | _             | J                                      |
| Agathis        | a type of tree                                    |                         |               | Ž                                      |
| Aglipayan      | a member of the Catholic church                   | √                       | _             | J.                                     |
| Aklan          | an ethnic group on Panay Island                   | į                       |               | a)                                     |
| Al∙ngan        | an ethnic group in northern Mindoro               | Ž                       | _             | 1                                      |
| alasas         | a type of plant                                   | Ž                       | _             | ž                                      |
| almarciga      | a type of tree                                    |                         | _             | N.                                     |
| almon          | a type of tree and wood                           | V                       | _             | Ž                                      |
| alupag         | a type of tree                                    | '                       | _             | 2                                      |
| armagoso       | the balsam apple of the Philippines               | -<br>√                  | _             | 2/                                     |
| Amboina pine   | a type of tree                                    | ,                       |               | a)                                     |
| anahau         | a type of palm                                    |                         |               | al al                                  |
| anilao         | a type of shrub                                   | _                       | _             | N.                                     |
| anonang        | a type of tree and fiber                          | $\overline{\checkmark}$ | _             | N<br>N                                 |
| Apayao         | an ethnic group in northern Luzon                 | Ž                       | -             | Ŋ                                      |
| apitong        | a type of tree and wood                           | Ž                       |               | イイイイイイイイイイイイイ                          |
| Ata            | an ethnic group in central Mindanao               | ٧                       | -             | Ŋ                                      |
| Ati            | an ethnic group on Panay                          | _                       | -             | Ŋ                                      |
| Bacolod        | of or from the city of Bacolod                    | $\frac{1}{\sqrt{2}}$    | -             | Ŋ                                      |
| Bagobo         | an ethnic group in Mindanao                       | V                       | -             | Ŋ                                      |
| bagtikan       | a type of wood                                    | √<br>√                  | ***           | ٧,                                     |
| Bajau          | an ethnic group in the southern Philippines       | ٧                       | -             | Ŋ                                      |
| balangay       | a type of boat                                    | _                       | _             | ٧,                                     |
| balete         | a type of plant                                   | $\sqrt{}$               | _             | Ŋ                                      |
| balintawak     | a native dress                                    | γ                       |               | Ŋ                                      |
| balitao        | a type of folk dance                              | √<br>√                  | _             | Ŋ                                      |
| balsa          | a raft or float                                   |                         | _             | Ŋ                                      |
| Baluga         | someone of mixed ethnic ancestry in Central Luzon | √<br>√                  | -             | Ŋ                                      |
| balut          | boiled ducks' eggs                                | γ                       | ****          | ٧                                      |
| bamboo dance   | a dance hopping between bamboo poles              |                         | -             | V,                                     |
| banca          | a dug-out canoe                                   | -                       | -             | ٧                                      |
| banga          | a type of jar                                     | √,                      | _             | V,                                     |
| Bangón         | an ethnic group in Mindoro                        | √,                      |               | ٧                                      |
| bansalaguin    | a type of tree and wood                           | √,                      |               | Ŋ                                      |
| banuyo         |   | √,                      | - '           | ٧                                      |
| barangay       | a type of tree and its wood                       | 1                       | -             | ٧,                                     |
| barit          | a hamlet or community                             | √,                      |               | √,                                     |
| barong tagalog | a type of grass                                   | √,                      | -             | ************************************** |
| barrio         | a long sleeved shirt                              | ٧                       | ~             | √,                                     |
| basi           | a ward, an outlying hamlet                        | $\overline{\checkmark}$ | √             | ٧                                      |
| basi<br>bataan | a fermented beverage                              |                         | -             |  |
| vaidall        | a type of tree                                    | $\checkmark$            |               |  |

|                       |  | ,            |              | ,                                       |
|-----------------------|--|--------------|--------------|---|
| Batak                 | an ethnic group in northern Palawan                | √            | -            | ٧,                                      |
| Batangan              | an ethnic group in Mindoro                         |              | _            | √,                                      |
| batate                | a type of tree                                     |              | -            | √,                                      |
| baticulin             | a type of tree and its wood                        | ٧            | -            | ٧,                                      |
| batino                | a type of tree and its wood                        | √,           | -            | √,                                      |
| batitinan             | a type of tree and its wood                        | √.           |              | Ŋ                                       |
| bauno                 | a type of mango                                    | √,           | _            | ٧,                                      |
| bayok                 | a type of tree                                     | √,           |              | V,                                      |
| bayong                | a type of sack made from palm leaves               | √,           | -            | ٧,                                      |
| beno                  | an alcoholic drink                                 | √.           | $\checkmark$ | √,                                      |
| betis                 | a type of tree                                     | 1            | _            | ٧.                                      |
| Bikol                 | an ethnic group in southeastern Luzon              |              | -            | √,                                      |
| Bilaan                | an ethnic group in southern Mindanao               | √.           |              | ٧.                                      |
| Bisayan               | a number of ethnic groups in the Visayan islands   | √.           | -            | ٧.                                      |
| bitanhol              | a type of tree                                     | $\checkmark$ |              | √,                                      |
| bleeding-heart pigeon | a Philippine pigeon                                | _<br>√       | _            | √.                                      |
| bogo                  | a type of tree                                     |              | -            | √.                                      |
| bolo                  | a knife  | V            | $\sqrt{}$    | V                                       |
| Bontok                | an ethnic group in northern Luzon                  | $\checkmark$ | _            |   |
| Brahminy kite         | a type of kite                                     | _            |              | √                                       |
| brisbane lily         | a type of plant                                    | _            | _            | $\checkmark$                            |
| Buhid                 | an ethnic group inhabiting southern Mindoro        | _<br>√<br>√  | _            | V                                       |
| bukayo                | grated coconut fried in brown sugar                | √            | _            | 4                                       |
| Bukidnon              | an ethnic group in northern Mindanao               | √            | -            | $\checkmark$                            |
| buntal                | a type of palm fiber, or a hat made from this      | √            | $\checkmark$ | $\checkmark$                            |
| buro                  | a dish of fish and rice                            | -            | _            | √                                       |
| cabeza                | a headman  | √            | _            | $\checkmark$                            |
| cacique               | a powerful landowner                               | _            |              | *************************************** |
| cadang-cadang         | a disease affecting palm trees                     | $\sqrt{}$    |              | $\checkmark$                            |
| calamondin            | a type of orange tree and its fruit                | √.           | _            | √                                       |
| calao                 | a species of Philippine bird                       | √            | _            | √                                       |
| calesa                | a kind of calash                                   | √            | _            | √                                       |
| calesín               | a small carriage                                   | √            |              | $\checkmark$                            |
| camagon               | a type of tree, its wood, and its fruit            | √            | _            | $\checkmark$                            |
| cana espina           | a valuable variety of bamboo used in building      | _            |              | $\checkmark$                            |
| canao                 | an animist religious feast                         |              | _            | √                                       |
| cantala               | a type of fiber                                    |              | _            | √                                       |
| carabao (T.)          | a water buffalo                                    | √            |              | $\checkmark$                            |
| carrabinero           | a customs or coast guard officer                   | _            | _            | √                                       |
| casco                 | a covered barge                                    | _            |              | V                                       |
| cavan                 | 1. a trunk or coffer; 2. a unit of measure         |              | _            | V                                       |
| Caviteno              | a language spoken around Cavite                    | _            | _            | V                                       |
| Cebu                  | of or from city of Cebu                            | -            | _            | V                                       |
| cedula                | a certificate of identification, a tax certificate | _            |              | Ż                                       |
| centavo               | a cent, one hundredth of a peso                    | _            |              | V                                       |
| ceriops               | a type of mangrove                                 | _            | _            | Ÿ                                       |
| Chabakano             | a language spoken around Zamboanga                 |              | _            | Ż                                       |
| ch'ang shan           | a type of shrub                                    | _            |              | Ÿ                                       |
| chinela               | a heelless slipper                                 | _            |              | V                                       |
| cloud rat             | a type of large rodent                             | _            | _            | ż                                       |
| cogon                 | a tall coarse grass                                | √            | _            | Ż                                       |
| convento              | a convent, a parish house                          | ż            | _            | Ì                                       |
| cota                  | a fort   | Ý            |              | Ì                                       |
|                       | a type of monkey                                   | -            |              | j                                       |
| Gabraung mataque      | a type of monacy                                   | _            | _            | ,                                       |

| cutch           | an extract from bark used for tanning                     | -             | -                       | √.                                     |
|-----------------|---|---------------|-------------------------|--|
| danglin         | a type of tree  | 1             |                         | √.                                     |
| dao             | a type of tree and its wood                               | $\sqrt{}$     | -                       | √.                                     |
| dato            | a headman in the southern Philippines                     | -             | $\sqrt{}$               | √.                                     |
| Davao           | of or from the city of Davao                              | $\checkmark$  | -                       | √.                                     |
| Dipterocarpus   | a type of tree  | -             | -                       | V                                      |
| dita            | a type of tree  | $\sqrt{}$     | $\checkmark$            | √                                      |
| Downy myrtle    | a type of shrub   | _             | _                       | 7 7 7                                  |
| Dumagat         | an ethnic group on the coast of eastern Luzon             | $\checkmark$  | _                       |  |
| dungon          | a type of tree and its wood                               | $\sqrt{}$     | √                       |  |
| elemi           | fragrant resins from tropical trees                       | _             | _                       | V                                      |
| eruc            | a type of palm fiber                                      | _             | _                       | √                                      |
| Filamerican     | a Filipino with sympathetic feelings towards the US       |               | _                       | 1                                      |
| Filipina        | a variant of 'philopena'                                  | _             | _                       | V                                      |
| Filipinize      | to provide personnel that are wholly or partly Filipinos. | _             | _                       | Ÿ                                      |
| Filipino        | 1. a native of the Philippines                            | _             | √                       | V                                      |
| ·               | 2. of or relating to the Filipinos                        | _             | Ž                       | 1                                      |
| fillingen       | variant of 'Philippine'                                   | _             | Ž                       | ž                                      |
| fillipeen       |   | _             | ٧                       | - I                                    |
| fiscal          | a prosecuting attorney                                    | _             | _                       | , V                                    |
| flying lemur    | a type of small mammal                                    | _             | ••••                    | Y                                      |
| forest tea      | a Philippine plant substitute for tea                     | -,            | _                       | Ŋ                                      |
| gaddang         | an ethnic group in northern Luzon                         | 1             | -                       | ٧                                      |
| gogo            | a type of vine  | ٧,            | -                       | ٧.                                     |
| gugu            | a native of the Philippines (derog.)                      |               | -                       | ٧,                                     |
| guijo           | a type of tree and its wood                               | -<br>√<br>√   | _                       | √.                                     |
| Hantik          | an ethnic group in western Panay                          | 1             | _                       | √                                      |
| HanunÛóo        | an ethnic group inhabiting southern Mindoro               | $\sqrt{}$     | _                       | $\checkmark$                           |
| harpy eagle     | a rare eagle  | _             | _                       | √                                      |
| Hiligaynon      | an ethnic group in Panay and Negros                       |               |                         | √                                      |
| Hipposideros    | a type of bat   | _             | _                       | V                                      |
| hoop withe      | a type of shrub   |               | -                       | V                                      |
| iba             | a type of tree and its fruit                              | $\sqrt{}$     | _                       | V                                      |
| Ifugao          | an ethnic group in northern Luzon                         | Ì             | $\overline{\checkmark}$ | Ż                                      |
| Igorot          | an ethnic group in the region of Benguet                  | 1             | Ì                       | į                                      |
| ilang-ilang     | a tree  | V             |                         | į                                      |
| ilang-ilang oil | the fragrant oil of the ilang-ilang tree                  |               | _                       | Š                                      |
| Illanun         |   | - 7 7         | _                       | 1                                      |
|                 | the Maranao people of Mindanao and Borneo                 | -1            | √<br>√                  | ž                                      |
| Ilocano         | an ethnic group in northern Luzon                         | J.            | V                       | N.                                     |
| Iloilo          | of or from the city of Ilo-Ilo                            |               | -                       | Y                                      |
| Hongot          | an ethnic group in northern Luzon                         | 4             | _                       | Ŋ                                      |
| Indian cobra    | a type of snake   | _             | -                       | ٧                                      |
| ipil            | a tree and its wood                                       | -             | -                       | ٧,                                     |
| ipil-ipil       | a type of shrub   | -             | -                       | ٧,                                     |
| Iraya           | an ethnic group in northern Mindoro                       | ~             | -                       | ٧,                                     |
| Isinai          | an ethnic group in Nueva Vizcaya, Luzon                   | -,            | -                       | ٧,                                     |
| Ivatan          | an ethnic group in the Batan islands                      | $\checkmark$  | _                       | √,                                     |
| iyo             | a type of vine  | -             | -                       | √,                                     |
| jeepney         | a converted jeep serving as a small bus                   |               | $\sqrt{}$               | √                                      |
| jusi            | a fabric for dresses and shirts from silk or fibers       | $\overline{}$ | $\checkmark$            | $\checkmark$                           |
| kabaragoya      | a large lizard  |               | _                       | V                                      |
| Kalamian        | an ethnic group in the Calamanian islands                 | $\sqrt{}$     | _                       | $\checkmark$                           |
| kalantas        | the Philippine cedar                                      | -<br>√<br>√   | _                       | ************************************** |
| Kalinga         | ethnic groups in northern Luzon                           | $\sqrt{}$     |                         | V                                      |
| 9               | a   |               |                         | ,                                      |

|                    | _   | -1            |              | 1                                       |
|--------------------|---|---------------|--------------|---|
| kalumpit           | a type of tree  | $\sqrt{}$     |              | 1                                       |
| Kankanai           | an ethnic group living in northern Luzon                  | V             | -            | √,                                      |
| king cobra         | a type of snake   | √<br>√        | _            | Ž                                       |
| Kulaman            | an ethnic group in southern Mindanao                      | Y             | _            | Ž                                       |
| lancha             | a type of boat  | _             | -            | *************************************** |
| lanete             | several varieties of trees and their wood                 | $\sqrt{}$     |              | ď                                       |
| lantaka            | a piece of artillery                                      | J             | _            | 2                                       |
| lapo-lapo          | a type of fish, also lapu-lapu                            | 1             | $\frac{-}{}$ | al.                                     |
| lauan              | types of timber   | $\overline{}$ | ٧            | 2                                       |
| ligas              | a type of tree  | V             | _            | 3                                       |
| litchi             | an edible fruit   |               | _            | Ž                                       |
| lorcha             | a type of ship  | -             | _            | N.                                      |
| lumbang            | a type of tree and its nuts                               |               | _            | Š                                       |
| lumbayao           | a type of tree and its wood                               | $\sqrt{}$     | -            | N.                                      |
| macaasim           | types of hardwood trees                                   |               |              | N al                                    |
| machin             | a type of monkey  | 1             | _            | N<br>A                                  |
| Magahat            | an ethnic group in the hills of southern Negros           | $\checkmark$  | _            | N N                                     |
| Magindanao         | an ethnic group in Mindanao                               | -             | ***          | $\sqrt{}$                               |
| magpie robin       | a type of tree  | _<br>√        | -            | . V                                     |
| malaanonang        | a type of tree  |               | -            | 1                                       |
| malapaho           | a type of tree  | $\checkmark$  | _            | V                                       |
| Malayan            | an ethnic group of Southeast Asia                         | -             |              | √,                                      |
| Mamanua            | an ethnic group in northern Mindanao                      | -,            | -            | 1                                       |
| mancono            | a type of tree  | 1             | -            | Ŋ                                       |
| Mandaya            | an ethnic group in southern Mindanao                      | √,            | -            | $\sqrt{}$                               |
| Mangyan            | several ethnic groups in the Mindoro region               | √,            | √,.          | $\sqrt{}$                               |
| Manila             | of or from the city of Manila, made of manila paper       | √,            | √,           | 1                                       |
| Manila             | a type of rope, or type of cigar                          | √,            | √            | 7                                       |
| Manila copal       | a type of resin   | 1             | _            |   |
| Manila elemi       | a type of resin   | 1             | _            | 1                                       |
| Manila grass       | a type of lawn grass                                      |               |              | 1                                       |
| Manilaman          | a Philippine sailor                                       | 1             | -<br>√       | 1                                       |
| Manobo             | several ethnic groups in central Mindanao                 | 7             | ·.           | Ž                                       |
| Maranao            | an ethnic group of Moro people                            |               | <b>V</b>     | Ž                                       |
| marang             | a type of tree and its fruit                              | 1             | _            | N.                                      |
| maya               | a type of bird  | $\sqrt{}$     | -            | 1                                       |
| mayapis            | a type of tree  | γ             | √.           | N<br>al                                 |
| medrinaque         | a sago palm fiber, and cloth made from the fiber          | _             |              | 7777                                    |
| Megapodiidae       | a type of bird  | -             | -            | , V                                     |
| meranti            | a type of wood  |               |              | 2                                       |
| molave             | a tree and its wood                                       |               | -            | 2                                       |
| montero            | a forester or ranger                                      | $\sqrt{}$     | $\sqrt{}$    | J                                       |
| Moro               | Muslim people of the southern Philippines                 | ٧             | ٧            | Ĭ                                       |
| municipality       | an administrative district comprising a number of barrios | -             |              | N.                                      |
| murral             | a type of edible fish                                     | _             | _            | イベイベイ                                   |
| Nabaloi            | an ethnic group in northern Luzon                         | $\sqrt{}$     | -            | 1                                       |
| namamahay          | a class of agricultural laborers                          | $\sqrt[7]{}$  | √            | 1                                       |
| narra              | a type of tree much valued for its hard wood              | √<br>√        | Α.           | V<br>V                                  |
| nito               | a type of fern  | ٧             | -            | 1                                       |
| oriental fruit fly | a type of fly feeding on fruit and vegetables             | $\sqrt{}$     | _            | \<br>\<br>\<br>\                        |
| pahutan            | a type of mango   | 1             |              | Ž                                       |
| Palawan            | an ethnic group   | $\sqrt[3]{}$  | _            | Ž                                       |
| palay              | rice prior to husking                                     | γ             | -            | V                                       |

| palayan                 | a type of oak-tree   | $\sqrt{}$               |               | $\checkmark$ |
|-------------------------|--|-------------------------|---------------|--------------|
| palosapis               | a type of tree and its wood                                |                         | _             | √            |
| Pampangan               | an ethnic group in central Luzon                           | V                       | _             | √            |
| Pangasinan              | an ethnic group in central Luzon                           | $\sqrt{}$               | $\checkmark$  |              |
| pansit                  | a noodle dish  | $\sqrt{}$               | _             | √.           |
| pañuelo                 | a type of shawl  | $\sqrt{}$               |               |              |
| pensionado              | a student with a scholarship to study abroad               |                         | _             | V            |
| peso                    | the basic unit of Philippine currency                      | $\overline{\checkmark}$ |               |              |
| Phallostethidae         | a type of fish   | _                       | _             | Ż            |
| Philippina              | a variant of 'Filipina'                                    |                         | √             | V            |
| Philippine              | of or from the Philippine islands                          | $\sqrt{}$               | $\dot{}$      | Ÿ            |
| Philippine cedar        | a type of tree   | $\dot{}$                | _             | À            |
| Philippine fowl disease | a type of avian disease                                    |                         | _             | V            |
| Philippine mahogany     |  | $\sqrt{}$               | ***           | Ì            |
| philopena               |  |                         |               | Ž            |
|                         | 1. a type of game, 2. a nut with two kernels               | $\overline{\checkmark}$ | _             | √.           |
| pili<br>Pilinina        | a type of tree and nut                                     | ¥                       |               | Ž            |
| Pilipino                | the national language                                      | $\sqrt{}$               | -             | -1           |
| piña cloth              | the cloth from pineapple fiber                             | Ŋ                       | -             | 1            |
| piso                    | see peso   | $\sqrt{}$               | $\overline{}$ | Ŋ,           |
| población               | a centre of a municipality                                 |                         | ٧             | √,           |
| principal               | a leading man in the community                             | $\sqrt{}$               | -             | √,           |
| pulahan                 | a Filipino insurgent in the 19th century                   | ٧                       |               | √,           |
| pungapung               | a type of plant  | -                       | -             | √,           |
| Quezon City             | of or from Quezon city                                     | $\sqrt{}$               | -             | V,           |
| Quintinia               | a type of shrub or tree                                    | ****                    | -             | √.           |
| ramie                   | 1. a type of herb, 2. the fiber of that herb, 3. a fabric  | -                       | -             | √.           |
| red lauan               | a type of timber   | -                       | _             | √.           |
| rengue                  | a coarse type of fiber cloth                               | $\sqrt{}$               | -             | 7 7          |
| ricegrass               | a type of grass  |                         | _             | $\checkmark$ |
| Rizal Day               | the national holiday commemorating the death of Jose Rizal | $\sqrt{}$               | -             |              |
| saba                    | a type of banana and its fiber                             |                         |               | V            |
| sabutan                 | a type of fiber used for hats and mats                     | $\checkmark$            |               | $\checkmark$ |
| sail lizard             | a type of lizard   |                         | ***           | $\checkmark$ |
| Saint Ignatius's bean   |  |                         | _             |              |
| salacot                 | a type of hat made from cane and palm leaves               | _                       | _             |              |
| salak                   | a type of palm and its fruit                               | _                       |               | √            |
| salambao                | a fishing net  |                         | _             |              |
| Samar-Leyte             | an ethnic group in Samar and eastern Leyte                 | _                       | _             | V            |
| Sambal                  | an ethnic group from Zambales                              |                         | _             | V            |
| sangley                 | a Chinese trader   | Ì                       | _             | V            |
| sapiao                  | a type of fishing net                                      | _                       | _             | Ż            |
| sapsap                  | a type of fish   |                         | _             | とこととこととととん   |
| sawali                  | a type of bamboo matting                                   |                         | _             | $\dot{}$     |
| saya                    | a man's cloak  | Ì                       | _             | j            |
| schistosomophora        | a type of snail  | Υ                       |               | Ž            |
| sentimo                 | one hundredth of a peso, see <i>centavo</i>                |                         |               | Ž            |
|                         | stiff cloth woven from abaca                               | $\sqrt{}$               | _             | ž            |
| sinamay<br>sitao        |  | Y                       | _             | J            |
|                         | a type of pea  | -1                      | -             | J.           |
| sitio                   | a hamlet   | V                       | -             |              |
| Subanun                 | an ethnic group in Zamboanga                               | -                       | ****          | . Y          |
| sugar palm              | types of palms yielding sugar                              | -                       | -             | N.           |
| supa                    | a type of tree and its wood                                | 1                       | -             | ٧,           |
| Tagabili                | an ethnic group in southern Mindanao                       | V                       | -             | 1            |
|                         |  |                         |               |              |

#### 200 Kingsley Bolton and Susan Butler

| Tagakaolo Tagala Tagalog Tagbanuwa talipot tamarau tanguile Tectona teniente tikug tindalo Tinggian Tiruray tuba tulisan typhoon upas vinta Wallace's line white lauan white siris wild chestnut windowpane oyster yacal | a type of tree                           | 241111141441414141 |   | ~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~ |
|--|--|--------------------|---|---|
|  | a type of tree<br>one of the Moro tribes | 1                  | - | 1                                       |
| Zamboanga  | a city in western Mindanao               | -                  | - | ٧                                       |

10

### Investigating the grammatical features of Philippine English

Ma. Lourdes S. Bautista

#### Introduction

The study of Philippine English as a distinct variety dates from the publication of Teodoro A. Llamzon's landmark study *Standard Filipino English* in 1969. That monograph focused on the phonology of Philippine English, and had only a very short section on grammar, which covered only two pages of the book, consisting basically of a listing of Filipinisms, 'English expressions which are neither American nor British, which are acceptable and used in Filipino educated circles, and are similar to expression patterns in Tagalog' (Llamzon, 1969: 46). Since that time, the grammar of educated Philippine English has been studied in some depth by other linguists, notably Alberca (1978, summarized in Gonzalez and Alberca, 1978, and restated in Gonzalez, 1985), Gonzalez (1983), Casambre (1986), Arañas (1988), Romero (1988, summarized in 1993), Jambalos (1989), Gonzalez (1991), Bautista (2000a, summarized in 2000b), and Gonzalez, Romero and Jambalos (2004).

This paper has used those descriptions as a starting point for quantitative investigation. Since those descriptions were based mainly on observations and analyses of small sets of data, my aim here was to validate the features already identified by using a concordancing program on the one-million word Philippine corpus, the Philippine component of the International Corpus of English, henceforth ICE-PHI. The essential research issue here was to identify which grammatical features occur in ICE-PHI, and to investigate their frequency of occurrence.

In addition, because the Singapore (ICE-SIN), Hong Kong (ICE-HK), and Great Britain (ICE-GB) corpora were ready to hand, the occurrence of such features in the Philippine corpus could be compared with their occurrence in the other corpora. It is instructive to see how the three Outer English ('second language') varieties of Philippine English, Singapore English, and Hong Kong English line up beside the Inner English ('first language') variety,

British English. (ICE-US, unfortunately, is still not available.) It is worth investigating whether the three Outer English varieties can be located on a cline in relation to the Inner English variety. Both published literature and casual observation seem to suggest an ordering from Singapore English to Philippine English and finally to Hong Kong English in terms of closeness to the first language variety.

#### Presentation and discussion

In the discussion below, the constructions analyzed are those mentioned in earlier studies or from careful observations by interested students of Philippine English, particularly those amenable to corpus analysis using the concordance program in Oxford University Press's WordSmith Tools (version 4).

#### One of the + Singular Noun

Gonzalez (1983 and also Jambalos, 1989) called attention to part-whole constructions using one of the where the following noun is not pluralized, e.g. one of the boy instead of one of the boys. Aside from a plural noun, one of the can also be followed by a collective noun, as in the following examples from ICE-GB: one of the elite, one of the crowd, one of the family — where reference is made to a member of the group (cf. one of the families — where one family out of several families is singled out). One of the can also be followed by an adjective, usually in the superlative degree, and the following examples are from ICE-GB: one of the injured, one of the finest, one of the least remembered.

It was fairly easy to search the corpus for instances of this construction. The concordance program of WordSmith Tools was applied to the one-million-word corpus each for the Philippines, Singapore, Hong Kong, and Great Britain using the search string one of the, and the program produced the frequencies and tokens for the four corpora. The concordance results showed that the one of the + singular noun construction does appear quite often in the PHI, SIN, and HK corpora; this was not the case with the GB corpus. Note that in the tables below, 'Standard Use' refers to use regularly associated with Standard American English or Standard British English and 'Non-standard Use' refers to use not regularly or commonly associated with Standard American English or Standard British English.

Investigating the grammatical features of Philippine English 203

Table 10.1 One of the + Noun in ICE corpora

| Corpus  | Occurrences of One of the | + Plural noun/collective noun/<br>adjective (Standard use)<br>No. % | + Singular noun<br>(Non-standard use)<br>No. % |
|---------|---------------------------|---|--|
| ICE-PHI | 383                       | 358 93.5  | 25 6.5   |
| ICE-SIN | 285                       | 256 89.8  | 29 10.2  |
| ICE-HK  | 403                       | 319 79.2  | 84 20.8  |
| ICE-GB  | 423                       | 418 98.8  | 5(?) 1.2                                       |

The list below provides examples of the construction, with one example from the spoken subcomponent and one from the written subcomponent for each of the Asian corpora:

- (1) That's one of the related problem we will also be discussing. (PHI, s2a-048)
- (2) In feng shui, water is one of the most valuable component of a meditation garden. (PHI, w2d-013)
- (3) Okay one of the good example is the bottom one. (SIN, s2a-036)
- (4) Clausewitz is considered by many as one of the foremost European military strategist. (SIN, w1a-016)
- (5) The first application uh in using computer in the clothing industry was used by *one of the leader*. (HK, s2a-035)
- (6) CRM will become one of the high growth area in the IT industry in the coming years. (HK, w2a-040)

As might be expected, since written material is edited material, revised by the writers themselves or by their editors, the construction *one of the* + *singular noun* appeared more often in spoken language than in written. In the PHI corpus, 18 out of the 25 occurrences were spoken (with three attributed to one person) and seven were written (with two attributed to one person). In the SIN corpus, of the 29 occurrences, 25 were spoken (with two coming from one person) and four were written. In the HK corpus, of the 84 tokens, 78 were spoken (one person accounting for four occurrences, three persons accounting for three occurrences each, and 12 persons accounting for two occurrences each) and six were written.

In the British dataset, there are five occurrences of a singular noun after one of the — flagged with a question mark in the table above. It typically had the structure: one of the sort/kind + of + plural noun. Three of the five came from one speaker. Only #11 below, with variety, from an examination paper, seems different from the other four.

- (7) and that Rupert Sheldrake is a one of the leading sort of biologists (GB, s1a-096)
- (8) I mean this is one of the big sort of uh criticisms of the Jacksonian period in the eighteen thirties (GB, s1b-005)

- (9) And that's I think one of the basic kind of psychological motivations for most of the big trusts of this period (GB, s1b-005)
- (10) But I mean in one of the sort of pulpits whatever upstairs (GB, s1b-005)
- (11) Possibly one of the best known variety of statistical mapping is isoline mapping (GB, w1a-006)

One question that might be asked here is why the construction one of the + singular noun has become fairly prevalent in the three Asian Englishes. It should be noted that Schneider (2004), investigating Malaysian English, also remarked on the feature of deleting nominal inflectional endings (mostly the plural -s), and gave the example I was one of the earlies' victim of this (2003/2004: 57–58). Is the presence of the singular noun influenced by the presence of the number one? Is it due to interference from the first language (in Tagalog, for instance, the plural marker mga is optional in a phrase with isa 'one': isa sa tanong ko alternates with isa sa mga tanong ko 'one of my questions')? Note that this is one instance when the SIN corpus shows slightly more deviation from the standard than the PHI corpus. Thus, the issue of one of the + singular noun may be worth further examination in the analysis of Asian Englishes.

#### Ø Majority

Problems with article usage for Filipino users of English have been noted in all the studies done of educated Philippine English. Generally, articles are problematic for second language learners of English. As Swales and Feak note in their book on academic writing for non-native speakers, 'Three of the most common words in the English language are also three of the most difficult to use. We are referring to the articles *a, an,* and *the.*' (1994: 221).

An easy way to test this problem area in grammar using a concordance is through the noun *majority*, which needs to be preceded by an article (*Collins COBUILD English Language Dictionary*, 1987: 877). Gonzalez has observed that in Philippine English, *majority* sometimes does not occur with an article, as in his examples: *majority of the participants* (1983: 165), *Majority of the students favored the bill* (1991: 90). The Philippine, Singapore, Hong Kong, and British corpora were analyzed using the WordSmith Tools concordancing program, with *majority* as the search word and the results are as follows:

Table 10.2 Ø Majority in ICE Corpora

| Corpus  | Occurrences of<br>Majority | With article<br>(Standard use) | Without article<br>(Non-standard use) |
|---------|----------------------------|--------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
|         |                            | No. %                          | No. %                                 |
| ICE-PHI | 76                         | 54 71.1                        | 22 28.9                               |
| ICE-SIN | 62                         | 58 93.5                        | 4 6.5                                 |
| ICE-HK  | 87                         | 74 85.1                        | 13 14.9                               |
| ICE-GB  | 95                         | 95 100.0                       | 0 0.0                                 |

Here are examples of  $\emptyset$  majority in the PHI, SIN, and HK corpora, one in each pair coming from the spoken corpus and the other from the written corpus:

- (12) But a survey done by Pulse Asia shows majority of their respondents want President Estrada to keep his post. (PHI, s2b-003)
- (13) The Philippine production system is currently at the pre-industrial stage, i.e., majority of the animals subsist on valueless resources. (PHI, w2a-029)
- (14) Uh our own uh indications surveys had uh shown that majority of Singaporeans support this particular relief (SIN, s1b-052)
- (15) Malay as the additional status of national language not because of majority of its people are conversant in Malay but because of its relations (SIN, w1a-019)
- (16) And uh Howard uh I understand that opinion surveys show that uh majority of the public want to see XXXX fired. (HK, s1b-031)
- (17) 'Footprint' is an organization of enthusiastic university students towards nature and environmental protection, majority of whom are students or graduates from the Chinese University of Hong Kong. (HK, w2d-017)

Of the 22 instances of  $\emptyset$  majority in the Philippine data, 15 are from the spoken data (with four speakers giving two tokens each) and seven from the written data. In the Singapore data, three out of the four instances of  $\emptyset$  majority are spoken; in the Hong Kong data, 12 out of the 13 are spoken, with one speaker contributing two tokens.

From the table, it is clear that the feature  $\emptyset$  majority is most pronounced in the ICE-PHI data, at 28.9% almost double the 14.9% of ICE-HK and more than four times the 6.5% of ICE-SIN. It is hard to explain why  $\emptyset$  majority is rather widespread in the Philippine data. To speakers of Philippine English, is majority equated with many and therefore an article is not required? Is majority so closely associated with the ready-made phrases majority voting or majority decision or majority opinion in the speakers' minds that they omit the article when majority is used as a noun? Whatever the reason, this is one instance when a deviation from standard usage is more prevalent in the Philippine data than in the Hong Kong data.

#### Such + Ø Singular Noun

Another test of article usage can be applied to the construction such + singular noun. It seems that this construction has not been mentioned in studies of Philippine English, although it has come to the attention of many observers of Philippine English. In Standard American or British English such is followed by the indefinite article a/an when it is used with a count noun (e.g. such a story), but the article is not needed when the noun following such is a mass noun (e.g. such information) or a plural count noun (e.g. such books) or when such is preceded by a modifier such as no, one, any, first (e.g. no such proposal,

one such proposal). There is also the idiomatic expression until such time, which does not use the indefinite article. In Philippine English, however,  $such + \emptyset$  singular noun occurs with some frequency. Again, the concordancing program of WordSmith Tools was used to look at all the instances of such followed by a noun phrase in the Philippine, Singapore, and Hong Kong corpora.

The results are presented in the next table, where 'Standard use' means an indefinite article a or an precedes a singular count noun or  $\emptyset$  article precedes a mass noun; 'Non-standard use' means that  $\emptyset$  article precedes a singular count noun or, more rarely, an article precedes a mass noun. The column 'Indeterminate use' is reserved for borderline cases and these are discussed below. Note that ICE-GB data are not included in the table, but will be used as a reference point regarding the borderline cases.

| Table 10.3 Such + Noun in Asian corpor | Table 10.3 | Such + | Noun in | Asian | corpor |
|--|------------|--------|---------|-------|--------|
|--|------------|--------|---------|-------|--------|

| Corpus  | Total number of Such + Noun |              | Use of a/an or Ø |                   |
|---------|-----------------------------|--------------|------------------|-------------------|
|         |                             | Standard use | Non-standard use | Indeterminate use |
|         |                             | No. %        | No. %            | No. %             |
| ICE-PHI | 256                         | 224 87.5     | 20 7.8           | 12 4.7            |
| ICE-SIN | 282                         | 259 91.8     | 17 6.0           | 6 2.1             |
| ICE-HK  | 419                         | 318 75.9     | 71 16.9          | 30 7.2            |

Here are examples of non-standard use from the three Asian corpora, with examples from both the spoken and written data for each corpus:

- (18) the House of Representatives is not attempting to raise the standard of ethical perfection for our political leadership nay for all of us. *Such person* does not walk the earth today even after Jesus Christ redeemed mankind from original sin. (PHI, s2b-024)
- (19) But the President said he is willing to do that for the sake of the people if *such act* would bring down the oil prices. (PHI, w2c-014)
- (20) We hope that with *such instrument* given to our students thereby they will be able to make use of the CADCAM facilities (SIN, s2b-015)
- (21) Whilst *such concept* is true for concrete cured under control environment, such gain in strength is unreliable in the case of structural concrete. (SIN, w2a-033)
- (22) but anyway the documents uh of the Po Leung Kuk Archives do reflect such disguise and I will uh explain about uhm the Archives later. (HK, s2a-039)
- (23) The centre now houses a vast computerized database which is open to referring physicians and patients. Such open database policy ensures accountability and proper audit. (HK, w2a-034)

Although the table shows that the Singapore data presented rather few instances of non-standard use, the Colloquial Singapore English construction *such thing one* occurred three times in the data, and here is one example:

(24) Nobody eat uh only him. He doesn't like such thing one you know. He doesn't order this kind (SIN, s1a-013)

In the Hong Kong data, the construction such kind of + noun occurred 21 times in the spoken data, coming from nine speakers, as in these two examples from different speakers:

- (25) And so I want to find such kind of job. (HK, sla-018)
- (26) Uh the government want to move such kind of company. (HK, sla-043)

The phrase such thing appeared five times, from three different speakers, as in:

(27) We have such thing called shop houses. (HK, s1a-043)

The such kind of construction appeared four times in the Philippine data, with three tokens coming from one speaker. Here is an example:

(28) If we look at poetry as a means by which such kind of relaxation can also be achieved (PHI, s1b-005)

It should be mentioned that *such kind* did not appear at all in the Singapore or Great Britain data. Noticeable is the fact that in the Hong Kong data, the deviation sometimes involved the use of a/an before a mass noun, as in:

(29) Actually it's not such a a big a big work. (HK, s1a-086)

or in:

(30) Uh I did not ask her in such a great detail. (HK, s1b-066)

The indeterminate (i.e. borderline) cases are those where anaphoric reference takes place, with such + noun referring in meaning and form to a previous utterance. In the written data, this happens most often in the Administrative/Regulatory text category, as in the following examples taken from the three Asian corpora:

- (31) In case of an approved absence, the event is recorded in the faculty class record, but *such absence* is not counted toward a student's 'excess', as indicated in Section 6.5. (PHI, w2d-005) (an approved absence → such absence)
- (32) A planting hole ... must be dug and backfilled with a good quality top soil and compost mixture. It would also be advantageous to add more of *such soil mixture* to form a mound (SIN, w2d-013) (a good quality top soil and compost mixture → such soil mixture)

(33) A driving license holder should notify a licensing office of the Transport Department in writing of any change in the name, address or identity document within 72 hours after *such change*. (HK, w2d-004) (any change → such change)

An inspection of the British data showed that the distinction between count and mass nouns in the context of *such* was critical in the use or non-use of an article, regardless of anaphora. Anaphoric reference is involved in the following excerpt from an administrative text, but *status* is a mass noun, and therefore, the effect of anaphora cannot be determined:

(34) nor shall the status or title of professor or reader of the University be conferred by the Senate on any teacher in a Central Activity or School without previous consultation with the Governing Body of the Central Activity or School and, if the salary attached to the post proposed to be filled or on the holder of which it is proposed to confer such status or title is provided wholly to the Central Activity or School, the consent of the Governing Body shall be necessary to the appointment of a person to fill such post or to the conferment of such status or title. (GB, w2d-008) (the status or title → such status or title)

In general, in ICE-GB, the instances of *such* without an article occur with mass nouns, without anaphora having any influence. In the PHI, SIN, and HK corpora, it appears that an article is not obligatory before a count noun in the context of a previous mention of the noun, especially in administrative or regulatory texts. In other instances, however, in Philippine and especially Hong Kong English, the absence of an article before a singular noun in the construction using *such* appears to be deviant.

The distinction between count and mass nouns, together with their effect on the choice of articles, is vexing to many Outer English speakers because the rules are so complex. It can only be surmised that, in the Philippine context, the appearance of *such* without an article preceding a singular noun might be the result of applying a simplification rule, something along the lines of — 'use *such* without an article in all instances' — since, after all, that is the rule for *such* + plural noun, *such* + mass noun, *such* preceded by *no*, *one*, *any*, and formulas like *until such time*. In the Hong Kong context, where an article sometimes appears before a mass noun and a  $\emptyset$  article before a singular count noun, the deviation in use might be the result of imperfect learning and inadequate exposure to reference varieties of English.

#### Assure + Ø Indirect Object

Among the syntactic features of Philippine English, Casambre (1986) made mention of the omission of a necessary component, citing as an example assure

without an indirect object. As Quirk et al. (1985: 1213) point out, the verb assure requires an indirect object followed by a (that)-clause direct object. However, there are instances in the Asian corpora where assure is used in a different way, as shown in Table 10.4:

Table 10.4 Assure in ICE corpora

| Corpus  | Occurrences of Assure |    | ct Object<br>ard use) | other non-star | Object and standard uses ndard use) | (Indetern | a simple Noun<br>trase<br>ninate use) |
|---------|-----------------------|----|-----------------------|----------------|-------------------------------------|-----------|---------------------------------------|
| ICE-PHI | 75                    | 55 | 73.3                  | 9              | 12.0                                | 11        | 14.7                                  |
| ICE-SIN | 42                    | 37 | 88.1                  | 4              | 9.5                                 | 1         | 2.4                                   |
| ICE-HK  | 33                    | 23 | 69.7                  | 7              | 21.2                                | 3         | 9.1                                   |
| ICE-GB  | 18                    | 17 | 94.4                  | 0              | 0.0                                 | 1         | 5.6                                   |

The non-standard use of assure, where the indirect object has been omitted, can be exemplified in the following items from the three corpora, again with one instance each from the spoken and the written data, where available.

- (35) The President assured he is not merely laying down the basis to declare Martial Law (PHI, s2b-003)
- (36) Rasendyll is set, on the other hand, to assure that the throne will not befall the evil hands of the king's brother (PHI, w1a-017)
- (37) He assured that in addition he is planning to send a set of moldings to inject (SIN, s2a-061) (Note that there is no example from the written data.)
- (38) the pace of life here is unrelenting but I assure we do pause for breath now and again. (HK, s2b-050)
- (39) this will allow us to investigate the exact cause of the failure and assure that this does not occur again in any future productions. (HK, wlb-030)

In the PHI corpus, six occurrences are in the spoken data, with five of them from the Broadcast News category, and two in the written, with one in the form of a headline from the Press News Report category:

(40) Cronyism is dead, President assures (PHI, w2c-013)

The SIN corpus had two occurrences, both spoken. There were six occurrences in the HK corpus, with five coming from the spoken and one from the written categories.

'Other non-standard uses' included unusual constructions involving the formula *rest assured*, and all such instances are given below:

(41) in fact they're risking life and limb but uh uh they are rest assured that these elections are going to be peaceful. (PHI, s1b-032)

- (42) So you can be rest assured you know we are not a wet weather bank but uh we are here to do (SIN, s1b-077)
- (43) name your books of reference and you will be rest assured that we dare probe into the sources of their knowledge (SIN, s2b-012)
- (44) It all depends on your performance and but you can be rest assured that uhm experienced Finance Managers will be available (HK, s2a-051)

The 'Indeterminate use' category in the table refers to a noticeable variation in the use of assure in the corpora, its use with a simple noun phrase as direct object, i.e. assure not completed by an indirect object and a (that)-clause direct object but assure simply completed by a noun phrase direct object. The PHI corpus had 11 such items, the SIN corpus only one, and the HK corpus three.

- (45) That they would assure the rapid development and improvement of our military capability (PHI, s2b-028)
- (46) the review process should be set up for efficiency and effectiveness while assuring the protection of public health and environmental safety. (PHI, w2b-038)
- (47) And Asia's upcoming Tiger Vietnam assures its commitment to foreign investors. (SIN, s1b-050)
- (48) Excellent point I would have to say that that assures the efficiency and power that Legco ad hoc has ... (HK, s2a-026)
- (49) What does the Lion Dance signify? It is supposed to assure good fortune for the community. (HK, w2a-001)

This use of assure + noun phrase direct object was checked against the GB corpus, and one such instance appeared (compared with 17 occurrences of the indirect object + direct object structure):

(50) In Chapter 42 Columba is supposed to have asked King Brude to assure safe passage for some of his monks. (GB, w1a-002)

It appears that in British English assure can appear, though very infrequently, with a noun phrase direct object, a type of construction not mentioned in the Collins COBUILD Dictionary (1987: 77). But that dictionary presents ensure as a superordinate term for assure, and guarantee as a synonym for assure, and both those words appear with a simple direct object. The use of assure without an indirect object in the Philippine data may again be the result of a simplification process, abetted by the fact that in Philippine languages noun phrases can be dropped optionally. Since the indirect object can be determined from the context and occasionally seems redundant, that might be the explanation for the inclination to drop it.

#### Wherein

The use of wherein in Philippine English casual conversations was remarked on by visiting linguist Peter Lowenberg (personal communication, January 2005), and I used WordSmith Tools to check on its frequency in the Asian and British corpora. The results, given in the table below, were obtained from the whole corpus of one million words each for the Philippines, Singapore, Hong Kong, and Great Britain:

Table 10.5 Wherein in the different corpora

| Corpus  | Occurrences of Wherein |  |
|---------|------------------------|--|
| ICE-PHI | 78                     |  |
| ICE-SIN | 0                      |  |
| ICE-HK  | 2                      |  |
| ICE-GB  | 1                      |  |

The difference between the Philippine dataset and the other three datasets is truly remarkable. The canonical use of wherein is given by Collins COBUILD Dictionary (1987: 1661), which labels wherein as a formal and old-fashioned word; it is a relative pronoun that means 'in which place', e.g. 'the pink box wherein she kept her wools', and 'in which part or respect', e.g. 'Wherein lay her greatness?' The characterization given by the Collins Dictionary to wherein is captured in the following excerpt from ICE-GB, in the one and only occurrence of wherein in that dataset. The example comes from a social letter that seems to have been written tongue-in-cheek, facetiously, showing off control of a high-flown, old-fashioned writing style:

(51) Thirdly, what is, I regret I must admit, the nigh inevitable exacerbation of my far from underdeveloped propensity for tardiness and procrastination by my incipiently traditional loss of the letter which accompanied the fruit of your munificence, and wherein rests the only trace of your address available to me. (GB, w1b-015)

The two examples from ICE-HK are the following:

- (52) Then of course *wherein* in English language right most of the verbs are both transitive and intransitive. (HK, s1b-020)
- (53) However the British and Hong Kong Governments apparently are trying hard to paint a picture *wherein* they must choose between a new airport and the authority to effectively administer the territory in the run up to 1997. (HK, w2a-018)

Note that #52, from a class lesson, is open to the possibility that the transcription could have been 'Then of course where in in English

language ...', i.e. a repeated in. In #53, from an academic paper in the social sciences, wherein could have the dictionary meaning 'in which part or respect'.

We should now take a closer look at the numerous tokens from the PHI corpus. The 78 instances of *wherein* in the Philippine data have the following details:

Table 10.6 Wherein in the ICE-PHI spoken categories

| Category                 | Frequency | Distribution   |
|--------------------------|-----------|--|
| Conversations            | 21        | 7 from 1 speaker, 2 from 1 speaker, 1 each           |
|                          |           | from 12 other speakers                               |
| Class lessons            | 9         | 5 from 1 speaker, 1 each from 4 other speakers       |
| Broadcast discussions    | 2         | Different speakers                                   |
| Broadcast interviews     | 3         | Different speakers                                   |
| Parliamentary debates    | 2         | Different speakers                                   |
| Legal cross-examinations | 2         | 1 speaker  |
| Business transactions    | 1         | 1 speaker  |
| Spontaneous commentarie  | es 6      | 2 each from 2 speakers, 1 each from 2 other speakers |
| Unscripted speeches      | 12        | 5 from 1 speaker, 3 from 1 speaker, 1 each           |
|                          |           | from 4 other speakers                                |
| Demonstrations           | 2         | Different speakers                                   |
| Legal presentations      | 2         | 1 speaker  |
| Broadcast news           | 1         | 1 speaker  |
| Total                    | 63        | 42 different speakers                                |

Table 10.7 Wherein in the ICE-PHI written categories

| Category               | Frequency | Distribution                                     |
|------------------------|-----------|--|
| Student untimed essays | 5         | 3 from 1 writer, 1 each from the other 2 writers |
| Student exam essays    | 2         | 1 writer   |
| Social letters         | 1         | 1 writer   |
| Learned: Humanities    | 2         | Different writers                                |
| Learned: Technology    | 1         | 1 writer   |
| Popular: Technology    | 2         | Different writers                                |
| News press reports     | 2         | Different writers                                |
| Total                  | 15        | 12 different writers                             |

A total of 54 informants produced the 78 tokens of wherein in the PHI corpus. Clearly, wherein is used in both speech and writing (surprisingly, in speech far more than in writing), in dialogic and monologic speech, in informal and formal text categories. Because the use of wherein in ICE-PHI departed so radically from its appearance (non-appearance) in ICE-SIN and ICE-HK, it was decided to look at another Asian corpus that was available in ICE, the ICE-India corpus. ICE-IND shows 23 occurrences of wherein, as follows:

Table 10.8 Wherein in the ICE-IND spoken categories

| Category            | Frequency | Distribution         |
|---------------------|-----------|----------------------|
| Unscripted speeches | 1         | 1 speaker            |
| Legal presentations | 2         | 1 speaker            |
| Broadcast talks     | 6         | l speaker            |
| Total               | 9         | 3 different speakers |

Table 10.9 Wherein in the ICE-IND written categories

| Category Frequency        |    | Distribution                                      |  |  |
|---------------------------|----|---|--|--|
| Learned: Humanities       | 2  | Different writers                                 |  |  |
| Learned: Social Sciences  | 8  | 5 from 1 writer, 2 from 1 writer, 1 from 1 writer |  |  |
| Popular: Humanities       | 1  | 1 writer  |  |  |
| Popular: Natural Sciences | 1  | 1 writer  |  |  |
| Popular: Technology       | 1  | 1 writer  |  |  |
| Editorial                 | 1  | 1 writer  |  |  |
| Total                     | 14 | 9 different writers                               |  |  |

Clearly, the distribution patterns for *wherein* in the PHI and IND corpora are very different: *wherein* in the IND corpus appears in the more formal genres of the spoken and written subcomponents — note that it does not appear at all in conversations (where it was most common in ICE-PHI); it occurs less in the spoken categories than in the written, and it appears in the more formal written genres. Perhaps, then, the use of *wherein* in ICE-IND adheres closely to its description in the *Collins COBUILD Dictionary*, of being a formal word. We can now return to the use of *wherein* in ICE-PHI. Below are examples from the spoken categories:

- (54) Yeah just like the Flintstones that Flintstones' advertisement *wherein* the kid one time uhm her Mom went out oh I think went to work. (PHI, s1a-016) Conversation
- (55) This practice is still being done in in several universities in the US okay wherein they have a quota for different racial groups. (PHI, s1b-006) – Class Lesson
- (56) so we cannot afford to dump our sugar into the world market simply because the world market is is a market wherein all surplus and excess sugar are dumped by the producing countries. (PHI, s1b-025) Broadcast Discussion
- (57) Yes one potential danger if you have fall-outs from the volcanic eruption is you get a very irritating skin disease *wherein* you have li- a freckle-like uh spots. (PHI, s1b-047) Broadcast Interview
- (58) he does not consider anymore that uh a public office is a public trust but rather that a public office is a means *wherein* he can enrich himself. (PHI, s1b-054) Parliamentary Debate

- (59) Uh the book balance is the one that is reflected *wherein* after a check deposit is made the customer cannot withdraw the money yet because the check has not cleared. (PHI, s1b-066) Legal Cross-Examination
- (60) Uh I would like also to ask your opinion about my uhm case wherein there is what we call uh an impacted tooth 'no. (PHI, s1b-072) Business Transaction
- (61) They're the defending champions they don't want to make another uh occasion *wherein* UST in the nineties bagged the four consecutive championships. (PHI, s2a-007) Spontaneous Commentary
- (62) You just study the system and then develop some sort of algorithms wherein you want to improve the system and then the programmers will just implement your suggestions. (PHI, s2a-049) Unscripted Speech
- (63) because the red label is the versatile type of tuna of tuna wherein you can add it to a lot of things 'no. (PHI, s2a-059) Demonstration
- (64) In all of the decisions not a single decision was made wherein the votes cast went beyond or below the representation of the majority in both the Senate and the House. (PHI, s2a-069) Legal Presentation
- (65) XXX was also arrested in a buy-bust operation in his house wherein the raiders seized one plastic bag of shabu. (PHI, s2b-015) Broadcast News

#### An example from each of the written genres is given below:

- (66) This era is commonly called the Industrial Revolution *wherein* people during this time witnessed the growth of factories since machines were applied in the industries. (PHI, wla-004) Student Untimed Essay
- (67) Then there was the Moscow Treaty wherein Germany and USSR agreed that they will not use violence on each other's territories. (PHI, w1a-018)

   Student Exam Essay
- (68) Don't worry about the weight because it is a very small tool wherein you could put the whole container into your back pocket. (PHI, w1b-001) – Social Letter
- (69) The first chapter of Genesis narrates a progressive sequence wherein creatures appear in 'ascending' order. (PHI, w2a-008) Learned: Humanities
- (70) The characteristics of On-Off control mode is shown in Figure 2 wherein the actual temperature tends to oscillate around the set point. (PHI, w2a-032) Learned: Technology
- (71) The ARPAnet technology proved to be so reliable, largely due to 'dynamic rerouting': a system wherein if one of the network links were disrupted say by an enemy attack data transmitted through it were automatically rerouted through other links. (PHI, w2b-040) Learned: Technology
- (72) It may be recalled that it was in Loyola Park wherein a pregnant woman was shot dead during a parking quarrel on All Saints' Day last year. (PHI, w2c-008) Press News Report

In the above examples, it appears that in many instances, wherein is used as an equivalent to where or when or in which/by which/through which in Standard

British or American English. However, in #63 and #68, the formulation of these sentences in British or American English would require rather different grammatical restructuring:

- (63) because the red label is the versatile type of tuna which you can add to a lot of things 'no.
- (68) Don't worry about the weight because it is such a small tool that you could put the whole container into your back pocket.

In some of the examples above, where or when could very easily have taken the place of wherein, and would have made the text sound less formal. But wherein also corresponds to in which, by which, through which, etc. in other varieties of English, when where is inappropriate and the speaker/writer would need to choose the right preposition before which. It seems that in the Philippine context, wherein is an easy way out. As further proof, consider the fact that many of the instances of wherein in the data appear to substitute for the Tagalog all-purpose linker and relativizer na, which links words, phrases, and clauses. It seems to me that in these examples, the informants are using wherein for the all-purpose Tagalog na. This suggests that the transmutation of na to wherein accounts for its extensive use in Philippine English and its very limited use in the other varieties of English.

ICE-PHI includes numerous instances of code-switching, especially in the more informal text categories such as conversations and broadcast discussions and interviews. The data were searched for those occurrences of na as a relativizer, to substantiate the claim above that wherein might serve the same function as na. The best examples might be the following, where codeswitching to na takes place; in these examples, it is conceivable that the speaker could have used wherein instead of code-switching to na:

- (73) And I don't like her reasoning *na* she doesn't wanna pay me because it's not her priority because I have money. (PHI, s1a-004)
- (74) I don't know about other people but I tend to think there's a certain threshold na then you can say na 'that' oh it's enjoyable it's ganyan 'like that'. (PHI, s1a-073) [Note that na has two meanings: the first na is a relativizer while the second na is the complementizer 'that'.]
- (75) Pero 'But' once we establish the the job that we really want uh talagang 'real' career career opportunity that's the time na we'll go strictly on the scheduling ng a ano aming wedding 'of our wedding' uh. (PHI, s1a-094)
- (76) <Speaker A> she has these *topak* 'crazy' moments. <Speaker B> Yeah. <Speaker A> Na she suddenly just lunges at you as in ferocious ha 'emphatic enclitic'. (PHI, s1a-098)
- (77) Will it be some kind of a lovers' quarrel *na* after a short period they're back in bed but under more honorable conditions. (PHI, s1b-024)
- (78) But this is does this indicate a direction *na* eventually you really want to widen the scope of uh of Filipino as a medium of instruction in all elementary schools. (PHI, s1b-045)

The use of wherein also fits into the tendency of Filipinos to be relatively monostylistic in English, to use what Gonzalez (1985) calls classroom English for almost all situations. Many middle-class Filipinos are conversant in English for what Joos (1968) calls the consultative and formal styles, but not for the more casual styles. For casual styles, Tagalog-English code-switching or the speaker's first language, a vernacular, is used. This line of inquiry, which posits some influence from Philippine languages, might well be pursued in future studies of features of Philippine English.

#### Conclusion

Using the WordSmith Tools concordancing program on the ICE-PHI corpus, I investigated the occurrence and frequency of a collection of disparate grammatical elements. These elements were chosen because they had caught the attention of researchers and observers of Philippine English and could easily be studied using WordSmith Tools. The results were subsequently compared, again using WordSmith Tools, with the occurrence and frequency of those grammatical elements in other ICE corpora.

What appears criterial in distinguishing Philippine English from other new Englishes is a feature that appeared rather prominently in Philippine English but not in Singapore or Hong Kong English: the use of wherein as an allpurpose connector equivalent to (in other varieties of English) where, when, in which, by which, and through which, in all genres, especially in casual conversations. Wherein appeared 78 times in ICE-PHI, but did not appear at all in the SIN corpus and cropped up only twice in the HK corpus. When checked in the GB corpus, it appeared once in a self-mocking tone in a social letter. Another Asian corpus, ICE-IND, was brought in to shed further light on the distinctive use of wherein in Philippine English. Although wherein occurred 23 times in the Indian corpus, its appearance there adhered to canonical use: it appeared in the written genres more than in the spoken, and in the more formal genres of the written and spoken subcomponents rather than in the informal. Thus, the use of wherein in ICE-PHI is highly distinctive and it might be due to translating the Tagalog all-purpose linker na to wherein. It seems that if a speaker uses wherein in an informal conversation, there is a high probability that that speaker is a Filipino.

 $\emptyset$  majority (i.e. majority not preceded by an article) was noticeably more frequent in Philippine English than in Singapore English or Hong Kong English. Together with wherein, this construction can also be said to be distinctive of Philippine English. However, it is not clear exactly why the word majority is often not preceded by an article in Philippine English. One of the + singular noun, such +  $\emptyset$  singular noun, assure +  $\emptyset$  indirect object in ICE-HK, ICE-PHI, and ICE-SIN showed a distribution not present or only minimally present

in ICE-GB. For these features, ICE-HK generally showed more instances of occurrence than ICE-PHI and ICE-SIN. The construction  $such + \emptyset$  singular noun and the verb assure showed common uses in the Asian corpora not typically found in ICE-GB, for example,  $such + \emptyset$  singular noun for anaphoric cases in administrative and regulatory texts, and assure followed by a simple noun phrase direct object, instead of an indirect object + (that)-clause direct object. Although some attempt was made to explain the occurrence of these elements in Philippine English as the influence of the mother tongue for wherein, and as simplification for such +  $\emptyset$  singular noun and assure +  $\emptyset$  indirect object, it is difficult to adduce an explanation for one of the + singular noun and, as mentioned earlier,  $\emptyset$  majority. The rather common occurrence of one of the + singular noun in the Asian varieties certainly needs more study. From a comparison of such grammatical features in the Asian corpora with their occurrence in ICE-GB, it does appear that the percentages for ICE-SIN are lowest, and therefore come closest to the percentages for ICE-GB. The percentages for ICE-HK are highest, while the results for ICE-PHI fall between those for ICE-SIN and ICE-HK. This may support the inference that among Asian Englishes, the features of Singapore English may approximate more closely to norms of the Inner Circle, as represented by ICE-GB, compared to those of other Asian Englishes, such as Philippine and Hong Kong English. The findings of this study using the ICE corpora and WordSmith Tools are still somewhat tentative, but may, nevertheless, point to useful areas for future research.

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### English in Philippine call centers and BPO operations: Issues, opportunities and research

Jane Lockwood, Gail Forey, and Helen Price

Introduction

In the context of the rapidly-expanding Business Processing Outsourcing (BPO) industry in the Philippines, issues relating to diversity and convergence in the use of English are becoming strongly foregrounded. Essentially, the BPO industry comprises a variety of call centers, back office functions, and support services, which are outsourced to sites that are more economical to run than those at home. In the Philippine context, most of the call centers are the customer services departments of banks, insurance companies, retail outlets, IT support, and travel agencies, with head offices in the US, the UK, and Australia. Through telecommunications, speakers are brought into contact from diverse socio-economic, geographical, and ethnolinguistic backgrounds in this globalized workspace. Complex information and services are then negotiated within the constraints of the telephone and computer screen through English.

Language proficiency and standards of performance have increasingly become the focus of industry and government discussions in a site where English language capacity is seen by many as a key factor for future expansion and sustainability, and where customer satisfaction is closely dependent on the success of communication between participants (SGV and Co., 2006; Forey and Lockwood, forthcoming). While current market forces exert pressure on call center agents to use a standardized variety of English, the various stakeholders — be they overseas clients, their customers, or local staff — come to this situation with differing understandings and expectations of English as the working language.

To date, little research has been carried out to identify the language and communication issues in offshore call centers. The limited number of applied linguistic studies that have been published tend to focus on call centers based in the UK (Adolphs, et al., 2004; Cameron, 2000a, 2000b). Few, if any, studies have focused on the language training within the call center industry and the need to develop a pedagogic approach based on authentic resources. Researchers have commented on the high stress and pressure experienced by

the customer service representative (CSR) in call center work (see Cameron, 2000a; Taylor and Bain, 1999). However, workplace studies of the environment and Human Resource (HR) issues of call center work tend to be focused on call centers which are based onshore, where the CSR is more likely to be a speaker of the same variety of English (Mulholland, 2004; Rose and Wright 2005; Witt et al., 2004). Likewise, the research that is available on offshore call center destinations tends to focus on features not related to language. In offshore destinations, the language may be another added pressure, especially if the CSR is operating in a second or third language.

In terms of broader research on English language usage in the Philippines, a large body of work over the last three decades has been building up a picture of many of the features of Philippine English (PE), as a localized dialect of English realizing one of the 'outer circle' varieties of Asian Englishes (Kachru, 1997), where English has 'second' rather than 'first language' status. The descriptive focus of Philippine English has been on lexical and grammatical features (e.g. Llamzon, 1969; Gonzalez, 1985; Bautista, 1997, 2000, 2004a; Bolton and Butler, 2004), and distinct phonological features across various socio-economic groups (e.g. Llamzon, 1997; Tayao, 2004, this volume) — i.e. at phoneme, word, and sentence level, rather than the mapping of patterns across larger stretches of spoken text between interlocutors.

Tupas (2004) has noted that these studies of Philippine English have largely been concerned with English as it is spoken (or written) between educated Filipinos in localized, urban settings. The exception to this would be the published studies such as Bautista's in 1982 and 1996, identifying certain linguistic features of the 'sub-varieties' of English usage by Filipino maids and bar-girls, and the work of Llamzon (1997) and Tayao (2004) on variation in Philippine English phonology across socio-economic groups. In local speech communities, meanings tend to be commonly shared by all participants, and code-switching strategies are available to further extend the meaning potential through the use of Filipino or other shared dialects and languages — semantic resources that are unavailable in the call center interaction.

Hence, from an applied linguistic and social perspective, the expanding workplace of the BPO industry offers critical opportunities for research and intervention. First, we can study the dynamic interface between English as it functions in a localized context, i.e. in 'outer circle' multilingual Filipino speech communities; and as it functions in a trans-global context, i.e. with diverse interlocutors from predominantly 'inner circle' countries where English is spoken as a first language (Kachru, 1997). The acquisition of new registers and dialectal shifts by the CSR can also be researched through longitudinal studies and corpus-based analysis of call center discourse from novice through to seasoned agents. Second, the offshore customer service call, as an emerging genre, can be analyzed to provide a better understanding of the discourse features of service interactions — ones that increasingly influence

the way in which personal business is processed across the globe. Third, in terms of applied linguistics and workplace training, the apprenticeship of the novice CSR also creates many challenges for language teaching and assessment practices in a workplace that must perform under considerable pressure and time constraints. A survey of approaches to such training and assessment in the BPO industry can reveal the underlying attitudes and beliefs about the English language that are held by the various stakeholders. A clearer understanding of these perspectives and motivations can inform future initiatives and educational policy.

In this chapter, we will firstly provide an overview of some of the current practices and issues relating to English language and communication in this new context, based on our research in the BPO industry since 2004 (Forey and Lockwood, forthcoming), and other studies in this area. Secondly, we will report on our study of call center discourse in the Philippines, describing preliminary findings relating to features of these interactions and communication problems commonly faced by CSRs. In doing so, we will start to consider what the language implications of this globalized movement offshore are, and what kind of research could inform the development of language support programs for its workforce, initiatives that can better respond to and accommodate the diversity and complexities of the BPO context.

### An overview of language issues and trends in the Philippine BPO industry

Perceptions of language training needs

Cost is not the only factor when choosing a BPO destination. Excellent English language skills, post-high school qualifications, and a service culture are all drawing cards for this fast-developing outsourcing industry (see NeoIT, 2004). Outside perceptions of good levels of English and education, its service culture, and its large population (good scalability) have hence contributed to the Philippines becoming a favored site for relocation, especially for the North American client (SGV and Co., 2006). For such companies, the country's perceived affinity with American culture has also been used as a rationale to set up BPOs there, the assumption being that after a long history of American presence in the country, Filipino staff will already be familiar with the expectations and behavior of the stereotypical American client and their customer.

Such perceptions of association have led to misconceptions about the language background of the potential workforce. Certain US organizations that were in the process of establishing an outsourced center reported that they believed English to be the mother tongue of the Philippines. While many

sociolinguists would argue that Philippine English is now 'functionally native' to the Philippines due to its dispersion through all levels of society and wide range of uses in the country (Bautista, 2000), this variety of English not only differs linguistically from the Standard American English (SAE) of US organizations, but it is also spoken as a second or third language by the majority of its speakers. Another misconception relates to the Austronesian languages and dialects spoken in the Philippines, with Tagalog generally viewed from outside the Philippines as the mother tongue of all Filipino CSRs. This is clearly not the case for many who have moved in from the provinces to Metro Manila or those at sites in the Visayas or in the Ilocos region of Northern Luzon whose mother tongue is Cebuano or Ilokano, etc. As pointed out by Bautista (2004b: 199), the Philippines is a country where over 100 languages are spoken, where inhabitants typically speak two or more languages, where English as a colonial language was adopted as a second language within only a few generations, and where switching between languages is common.

Hence many US-based companies setting up call centers in the Philippines have been slow to appreciate that comprehensive English language training and support will be required to ensure that its agency workforce meet the service level requirements of US clients (Lockwood, 2006a; Lockwood and Forey, forthcoming). This lack of understanding of the language support needed for the offshore destination is reflected in the type of training programs offered by such organizations to new recruits. In our experience during consultancies undertaken in Manila with large third party call centers (2003–2006), only American accent training and ad hoc remedial work on points of English grammar tend to be provided, along with basic customer service skills (i.e. what is referred to as the 'soft skills' — for example, formulaic company greetings, empathy and rapport building with the customer, etc.). Following this brief communications training, a more substantial account-specific product training is given.

The 'soft skills' materials that are used have often been designed for American trainees, and hence they neither support the specific areas of language building that are usually required for new Filipino CSRs, nor do they provide an explicit description of culturally specific practices in the US context. 'Cross-cultural training' is often in the form of a lesson in American geography. In many cases during the recruitment or training process, language examples may be taken from literary texts and other unrelated written texts that involve very different discourse and lexico-grammatical patterns compared to a successful customer service encounter through the medium of the telephone. Re-recordings and transcripts of complete spoken texts taken from the workplace itself are rarely used as linguistic models, and the reinforcement of relevant listening skills is lacking in the curriculum. Generally speaking, in the majority of call centers, we found that the language training did not appear to have been informed by applied linguistic research or practice, nor was it

facilitated by individuals with a formal background in English language training.

#### Recruitment for an expanding industry

The rapid expansion of the call center industry in the Philippines, while providing attractive employment opportunities for graduates in their home country, is now placing huge demands on recruitment, with 100,000 jobs offered in the call center industry in 2005 and continued growth forecast (ECCP, EON, Inc., and PEP 2006). Cu (2006) has suggested that the revenue generated by call centers in the Philippines will grow from US\$ 1.2 to 3.1 billion from 2005 to 2008. Senator Mar Roxas, Chairman of the Senate committee on trade, commerce, and economic affairs, proposed that by 2009, over 300,000 Filipinos would be employed in call center companies operating in the country (Ramos, 2004). Recent figures from the Business Processing Association of the Philippines, as shown in Table 11.1, illustrate the present situation and the forecasted growth of a five-year compound annual growth rate (CAGR) of 38%. A major part of this growth will be in the call center industry (SGV and Co., 2006).

Table 11.1 Forecast revenues in ITES services 2006–2010 in US\$ million (SGV and Co., 2006: 1)

| IT & IT Enabled Services | 2004  | 2005  | 2006  | 2007  | 2008  | 2009  | 2010   | 5yr<br>CAGR% |
|--------------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|--------|--------------|
| Customer Care            | 1,024 | 1,792 | 2,688 | 3,488 | 4,192 | 4,816 | 5,296  | 24.2         |
| Back Office              | 120   | 180   | 288   | 488   | 880   | 1,496 | 2,392  | 67.8         |
| Medical Transcription    | 42    | 70    | 126   | 238   | 476   | 952   | 1,708  | 89.7         |
| Legal Transcription      | 4     | 6     | 9     | 13    | 20    | 28    | 36     | 43.1         |
| Other Data Transcription | 26    | 39    | 52    | 78    | 104   | 130   | 169    | 34.1         |
| Animation                | 52    | 74    | 111   | 185   | 315   | 500   | 759    | 59.3         |
| Software Development     | 170   | 204   | 272   | 374   | 561   | 850   | 1275   | 44.3         |
| Engineering Design       | 34    | 48    | 68    | 102   | 170   | 255   | 357    | 49.4         |
| Digital Content          | 3     | 7     | 13    | 26    | 52    | 104   | 208    | 97.1         |
| Total                    | 1,474 | 2,419 | 3,627 | 4,992 | 6,769 | 9,130 | 12,199 | 38.0         |

Source: Business Processing Association of the Philippines

Service level agreements between the host company and the providing company (in this instance, an outsourcing organization in the Philippines) for the more complex, high-end accounts increasingly located in the Philippines require high quality customer service and skillful spoken communication. Recruiting enough staff to fill the seats in new and existing sites is an ongoing problem for HR departments and agencies, and in 2005, recruitment rates in Manila call centers slumped to 1–1.5%, with the lack of

English language competence being cited as the main reason for staff shortages (Greenleaf and Ferrer, 2006; Dominguez, 2006). Senator Roxas has also drawn attention to the lack of English language proficiency as a major threat to predicted levels of future expansion. In a recent paper by the European Chamber of Commerce of the Philippines (ECCP), Stakeholder Relations Firm EON, Inc., and PEP (2006: 8) it was stated that '250,000 jobs are to be provided in 5 years, an opportunity that will be lost if candidates can't be found with a sufficient level of English Proficiency'.

In this paper, ECCP et al. (2006) highlight that the major problem for business development for the call center industry in the Philippines is the standard of English. They state that 95% of the  $400,\!000$  college students that graduate every year do not have a high enough standard of English to be employed by the call center industry. They add that there is a need to 'create a sense of emergency and hope' centered on English and to convince the Filipino youth that 'English is their ticket to the future' (ECCP et al., 2006: 11). Dominguez (2006) reinforces the message that the HR factor, specifically a lack of proficient English speakers, is 'the single most pressing issue facing the Philippine e-service sector' (17). In an attempt to improve the standard of English, in April 2006 the ECCP and EON, Inc. spearheaded a five-year English advocacy campaign, 'English is Cool!', whose key message reads: 'Be proud. Be bilingual. English is cool!'. This particular marketing strategy is based on their belief that 'there is also a cultural hindrance to the practice of English among the youth: many lack the self-confidence to speak English because they are afraid to make mistakes, and English is now perceived as elitist. In other words: it is perceived as yet another obstacle to social success and integration rather than a means to achieve it' ('English is Cool' Web site, 2006).

In response to the problem of matching jobs and language skills, in March 2006 President Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo earmarked P500 million (\$9.8 million) for outsourcing industry training. Part of the scheme involves vouchers for tuition at government-accredited HR institutions. Third-party providers are increasingly implementing additional English language programs for 'near-hires', supported in part by the recent government funded scheme. Universities and colleges of continuing education are also slowly implementing the development of vocational training courses to support the industry.

Standards and varieties of English: The global politics of English in the workplace

In these industry discussions about language standards in the Philippine call center, performance is appraised in relation to external standards or norms — typically Standard American English. From this perspective, localized patterns of communication in English in the call center might be characterized

by the presence of a foreign accent, evidence of consistent grammatical errors, use of a restricted range of structures, the absence of certain lexical resources, the insertion of non-English terms, and problems of comprehensibility for 'native speakers' of English outside of the region. In other words, English is implicitly seen as a homogeneous and fixed system that is privileged by native speakers located elsewhere, an approach to language use that Kachru has attempted to debunk as 'the native speaker idealization myth' (1997: 10). The diversity of forms that English takes, and how these forms are put to use across the globe in different social settings by different speakers are rarely addressed in industry discussions.

Closely linked to the concept of language standards is the relationship between language use and perceptions of national identity. This is evidenced when a client decides that their Filipino CSRs must acquire a convincing American accent and invests in intensive American accent training to achieve this, rather than advocating a globally comprehensible accent as a more neutral position. However, in our experience, while the Philippine location will not be automatically signaled by the CSR in the greeting stage of the call, most companies have a policy of transparency and the CSR must state their offshore location if queried by the customer. On identifying an 'Asian-sounding accent', American customers will sometimes assume that they are calling India. Stories of racially abusive callers are not uncommon in interviews with CSRs, supporting press reports over the last few years in relation to the Indian call centers (Ahmed 2006; Gentleman, 2005; McPhate, 2005). This may be in the form of explicit racial slurs or may take the form of sarcasm and derogatory statements about the CSR's competence, in a more insidious way. Certain callers will demand to speak with 'an American' not 'a foreigner'. In contrast to this view of the privileged status of Standard American English is the notion of the inherent validity of localized varieties or dialects of English. Philippine English has been treated by many sociolinguists as a dialect in its own right (see Bautista, 2004b for a comprehensive review of Philippine English studies across three decades). Such Asian varieties are defined by their own habitual and widespread patterns of 'indigenous' usage that have developed over time from a complex array of socio-economic and historical factors (see accounts by Gonzalez, 1997, 2004; Bolton, 2000; and Tupas, 2004).

In a world Englishes paradigm, Philippine English is seen as a coherent, dynamic, and creative system that functions successfully to convey meaning in a range of social contexts from the everyday to the creation of literature, to the extent where Philippine English can be seen as 'functionally native' to the Philippines (see Kachru, 1997a; and Bautista, 2004a). What might count as a systematic error from the point of view of 'standard English' might be seen as a stabilized pattern in this variety that has its own form and/or function. From this perspective, when communication breakdowns do occur over the phone in the offshore call center, rather than seeing these as the

result of deficient language on the part of the CSR, this could be seen as a lack of correspondence across different varieties of English and the inexperience of both the CSR and the overseas customer to negotiate meanings together.

Taking a stronger ideological position, in his discussion of the politics of Philippine English, Tupas (2004) has argued that the majority of scholars of Philippine English have optimistically adopted a positivist approach for Philippine English, assuming linguistic and sociolinguistic equality for this variety as a post-colonial phenomenon that symbolizes independence and new beginnings. He counters this view at length, arguing that despite the polycentric rhetoric of globalization, with its notions of 'interconnectivity' and 'the global village', etc. — the reality is that the Philippines is experiencing a neo-colonial period. Notions of linguistic liberation and polycentricity are unrealistic in a country where most individuals are acting under 'conditions of severe restraint' and where the agenda of Philippine education is still to supply the world market economy with 'a cheap and docile labor force who are trained in English and the vocational and technical skills required by that economy' (Ordoñez, 1999: 20). Tupas adds: 'It is one thing to say that Filipinos are able to, and should, change the forms and meanings of English, and it is another thing to say that such appropriation is socially and politically accepted. In the words of Bautista (2000a: 17), "realistically speaking, for many Filipinos, there will still be a 'standard of standards' and that will be Standard American English" (Tupas, 2004: 53).

#### Stakeholders' motivations and new initiatives

In many ways, the emerging BPO contexts in countries such as the Philippines and India strongly reflect the politics and tensions that are related to the speed and use of English as a global language. However, for most who are working to solve communication problems within the industry, the question of what kind of English should be spoken is largely a pragmatic one, with commercial rather than ideological motivations. The customers of their accounts tend to be American, British, or Australian speakers of English and the expectation is for consistent mutual intelligibility, and coherent and confident communication from the CSR. Practically speaking, without these things in place, customer service will inevitably be compromised, and costs will escalate for the third party providers who provide the local services for overseas clients. If standards are not met, then the outcome may well be that accounts, and hence jobs, will be lost to other operators, potentially outside of the Philippines.

For the hundreds of new applicants lining up each day across Manila and at provincial sites for interviews, many of whom are fresh graduates with no

employment opportunities in their prior area of study, the CSR position signifies a highly-competitive local salary and the opportunity to gain product expertise and access to new technologies and to develop communication skills that may provide them with a competitive edge for an uncertain future. The BPO industry encourages a pathway of internal promotion and incentives to build on new expertise and retain staff. For some, the alternative to this may be a long separation from families and children for unskilled domestic work in Hong Kong, Brunei, and the Middle East. However, the current reality is that most individuals walking in off the street for their HR interview and language screening are falling short of the kind of advanced language competencies that are required to cope with the challenges of 'high-end' financial service and complex technical support. As will be discussed shortly in our study, the role of the Philippine CSR requires the acquisition of new skills and competencies that go beyond patterns of everyday spoken English language in a local context, and these need to be supported all the way through the process from pre-hire vocational training to coaching on the call center floor.

As noted earlier, clients, providers, and industry bodies alike are becoming aware of the need for more expertise and support in the critical area of language and communication, to develop their workforce and ensure sustainability. Educational institutions are also realizing the need to provide tertiary level support for their students in the area of English language training for the workplace. One well-known institute of technology has just spent two years revamping and extending its English language curriculum, retraining its English faculty in current communicative approaches to English language training and introducing a comprehensive language assessment tool to ensure their graduates leave with good enough levels of English for employment in the BPO industry. Other post-high school providers are also anxious to improve their English language teaching and teacher education programs in line with the needs of the BPO industry. Requests have been made by members of the industry for tertiary institutions to contribute to the development of English language in the students that graduate and the courses they offer at an undergraduate and graduate level (see Dominguez, 2006; NeoIT, 2005). In addition, pleas are also being made for colleges and universities, to participate in the research and training agendas that will improve levels of English communication for the BPO industry (Lockwood, 2006b). To date, there has been reluctance from some of the best universities to promote this industry within the ranks of their graduating students, as it is perceived to employ bright young people at a level below their capabilities regardless of their English language proficiency.

So from many perspectives, the BPO industry creates challenges, concerns and enormous opportunities, in theoretical, ideological, and the most

pragmatic of terms. Underpinning the development of an English language communication training agenda for this industry is the need for more research into the spoken discourse of call center transactions. Such findings can inform approaches to language support for the industry, but they may also point to areas for future social research. To date, our experience of conducting research in the Philippines has shown a very positive response from both the educational institutions and industry members, with ongoing support for applied linguistic research. In our research in the Philippines, we are developing a forum for partnership and collaboration with an aim to improving educational and industry pedagogy, through the sharing of findings and good practices. Issues about access to sensitive data and the sharing of information need more consideration and development, but these problems can be overcome through non-disclosure agreements and the removal of identifying information prior to analysis. In the next section, we report briefly on some initial findings that have emerged from our data, focusing on aspects of communication breakdown that commonly occur in customer service calls.

### A preliminary study of areas of communication breakdown in call center interactions

A study was undertaken in 2004 of the discourse structure and selected language features of over 500 authentic transactions that took place in a range of US call centers operating in Manila. The call centers in the study came from a range of industries such as insurance, information technology support, travel, banking and other financial services. Our research focused on inbound calls, i.e. where the customer initiates the call to get service or to make a complaint, etc.; rather than outbound calls, which tend to be sales or marketing-focused. These inbound centers are usually considered to be places of high stress and pressure for the CSR as there is no way of predicting the precise nature of the caller's problem (Taylor and Bain, 1999; Mulholland, 2004).

In this chapter, we will focus more specifically on the findings from one large US outsourced call center, and report on the general structure of the call flow and some areas of communication breakdown we identified in our data. For the study, over 100 selected calls were transcribed. All original names, dates, and sensitive details were removed from the data and made anonymous. While every call is unique, we found that a clear pattern emerged across the data in terms of core stages, as illustrated in Figure 11.1 below (Forey and Lockwood, forthcoming).

This flow chart shows the typical stages found in our data and also indicates which stages tend to be obligatory and which tend to be optional in the

majority of calls. As can be seen, the basic call flow involves six successive stages: (i) opening; (ii) purpose; (iii) gathering information; (iv) purpose; (v) service; (vi) closing. All stages appear to be obligatory and the feature we identified as being optional was the statement of a problem or complaint. Our findings also suggest that if problems occur during the call, these tend to happen during the purpose or service stages of the call.

The framework for this kind of generic analysis was based on a Systemic Functional Linguistic (SFL) model of language (see Halliday and Matthiessen,

Figure 11.1 The generic structure of call center transactions

| CALLER (C)                 |                                | • Complaint<br>• Frustration                     |  | <ul><li>Frustration</li><li>Vagueness</li><li>Clarification</li><li>3rd party</li><li>Demand</li></ul>   | <ul> <li>Personalization</li> <li>Complaints<br/>(threat, sarcasm)</li> <li>Reiteration</li> <li>Silence</li> </ul> |                                  | Hot  |
|----------------------------|--------------------------------|--|--|--|---|----------------------------------|--|
| CALI                       | Greeting & identification (ob) | Statement of<br>the problem/<br>complaint<br>(0) | Explanation of<br>problem/purpose<br>of call<br>(ob) | (Reiteration)<br>statement of the<br>problem<br>(ob)   | Accepts service;<br>asks for further<br>service<br>(ob)   | Closing<br>(ob)                  | Cool   |
| GENERIC<br>STAGES          | I<br>GREET & ID<br>ob          | 2<br>PURPOSE<br>ob                               | 3<br>CLARIFICATION<br>op                             | 4<br>PURPOSE<br>op   | 5<br>SERVICE<br>ob  | 6<br>CLOSING<br>ob               | National Confession of Confess |
| ep (CSR)                   | Greeting & identification      | Servicing<br>response                            | Feedback;<br>servicing response                      | Resolution offer   | Offers<br>information;<br>offers service  | Summarize<br>service;<br>Closing | Cool   |
| Customer Service Rep (CSR) |                                | • Silence • Vagueness • No feedback • No apology |  | • Formulaic<br>response<br>• Silence<br>• Vagueness<br>• No feedback<br>• No apology<br>• Technical lang | Silence     Vagueness     Jargonistic     Personalization     No feedback     No apology     Technical lang         |                                  | Hot  |

op = optional ob = obligatory (Adapted from Forey and Lockwood, 2007) 2004; Martin and Rose, 2003). In recent years, within SFL a number of studies have identified texts as having a recognizable generic structure (e.g. Macken-Horarik, 2001; White et al., 1994; Eggins and Slade, 1997). Having established the basic components in a text, which can be used as a working model, the description can be further extended to show more delicacy within each of the stages. In terms of the call flow, the model can be further developed for different kinds of accounts by identifying the conversational 'moves' that typically make up each stage of the call or can be modified to map out a variant call flow for a non-typical account. It can also be used as the basis for profiling the typical linguistic patterns of each stage of the call flow to inform training. This is particularly relevant for the problematic stages of 'purpose' and 'service', as will now be described, in relation to difficulties with communication.

#### Areas of problematic communication

In terms of problematic communication, we were interested in finding out what was happening during the phases where there appears to be some type of breakdown. In addition, we aimed to investigate the key lexico-grammatical features that could be identified in these stages of the text. In the present study, the inbound calls are considered to be from a 'high end', complex account. Generally the data showed that the customers often had inquiries about complex products and, consequently, more sophisticated servicing needs. Newly-recruited CSRs were not only dealing with new product and systems knowledge, but also with the novelty and the demands of communicating with Americans, who were often elderly, from low socio-economic groups and/or spoke with the regional accents of the southern United States. It is not surprising, therefore, that feedback from the US regularly reported communication breakdown, especially in the early weeks of the CSR working on the phones. Although the product training was intensive, the language training tended to be limited to accent neutralization and discrete grammar items (Forey and Lockwood, forthcoming).

In order to distinguish between different aspects of spoken communication, the discussion which follows considers four levels of language analysis: (i) phonological aspects of communication, (ii) language accuracy and range, (iii) discourse competence, and (iv) interactive and sociolinguistic competence. The last two categories are broadly based on Canale and Swain's (1980) descriptions of different areas of language competence that go beyond the limits of grammar, in its restricted sense. By 'discourse competence' we refer to the ability to connect messages in stretches of spoken language and to form a meaningful whole out of the series of utterances. 'Interactive competence' refers to the ability to maintain ongoing, fluent communication

with the other speaker and to build on relationships through language over the course of the interaction. Sociolinguistic competence involves an understanding of the socio-cultural conventions of language and discourse, such as the expression of politeness, humor, and appropriate turn-taking behavior.

As discussed earlier in relation to language diversity, for the Filipino CSR (as an 'outer circle' speaker of English) all of these aspects of spoken communication are potentially problematic in the context of the telephone interaction with an 'inner circle' American customer. And in each area, strong receptive skills (listening) as well as productive skills (speaking) are needed for successful communication by both the CSR and customer. The results of our research suggest the majority of communication problems occur in the stages of 'purpose' and 'service' of the call flow, i.e. the points where the CSR needs to exercise excellent listening skills to understand the purpose of the call; where the CSR needs to provide clear and logical servicing information; and where the CSR needs to interact and build relationships with the customer. Other stages in the text appear to be more straightforward, follow a standard pattern, and usually flow in a smooth manner, unless the caller is already irate before being connected with the CSR.

#### Phonological aspects of call center communication

Example 1 highlights one customer's response to a CSR, drawing attention to the phonological differences of a dialect.

#### Example 1

R: I'm explaining it to you Ma'am, it's for privacy purposes, it doesn't show here in my system but you do have a beneficiary it's just not showing in my system but I can request a letter indicating for you who your beneficiary is ...

Caller: Well, you know you're not very plain. You have an accent, right? I'm having trouble understanding you, right. Are you saying it does not show a beneficiary? Are you saying that? Are you saying that?

Tayao (2004) draws critical attention to the marked variation in phonological patterns across different Philippine English speakers, relating to social group membership, geographical location and first language background. In her study, Tayao distinguishes the use of Philippine English in three socio-economic groups, following Llamzon (1997) — the acrolect (whose speech style closely approximates formal General American English), the mesolect (whose speech exhibits divergences from American English but this does not generally affect communication), and the basilect (whose speech is heavily affected by their native language).

The kind of distinctions that are made and the phonological characteristics of each 'sub-variety' described by Tayao are highly relevant to the call center context. In our experience, typically, new hires are in the 'mesolect' category, but many new applicants are at the lower end of this band and aspects of their speech style would affect communication in the challenging context of the call center. For the high-end accounts, however, speakers ideally need to be in the 'acrolect' category. As was discussed earlier, many call centers even require their Filipino CSRs to sound like native-speaker Americans. Our experience has shown that for many call center agents, a shift in dialect naturally occurs as they move from novice to seasoned CSR, through the process of listening to and mimicking their customers eight hours a day. This is to the extent where certain individuals may acquire the phonemic and prosodic features of a convincing American accent, including a marked nasal twang, reduced vowel sounds, stress-timed rhythm, etc.

For CSRs that display phonological features of the basilect and mesolect categories, there are, however, specific phonological problems encountered on the floor. Arguably, these are due to both the customer's lack of exposure to Filipino speakers and the distinct phonological features of Philippine English, and the unfamiliarity of the CSR with a customer's speech style. Requests for repetition are frequent and misunderstandings arise from a lack of comprehensibility, in both directions. Tayao (2004) has described in detail the phonemic system of Philippine English, with its reduced consonant and vowel system, increasingly noticeable in 'broader' varieties of Philippine English, for example the lack of consonants /f/ and /v/ and the persistent hardening of the th sounds to /t/ and /d/. Some phonemes that are still present in the system may be articulated differently, such as the /r/ and /t/sounds. Vowels may be reduced from the 11 sounds of Standard American English to an approximation based on the five options in Filipino. Such features can create confusion for non-Filipino interlocutors as they struggle to place the words they hear in context, with the lack of other cues over the phone line.

Tayao (2004) has noted in her survey of Philippine English studies that most researchers would agree to the syllable-timed nature of Philippine English (where equal stress is given to all syllables and reduced syllables are absent), which contrasts with the stress-timed nature and distinct rhythm of Standard English. Coupled with the reduced range of phonemes described above, confusion may occur when words such as reinstatement, recommendation, information, basically, procedural, and computer are pronounced with equal stress on each syllable and the lack of a reduced vowel sound in weaker syllables.

#### Example 2

Caller: I'm sorry, could you repeat Sir ... I'm sorry ... hello?

CSR: I'm going to put this into our reinstatement department

[pronounced as rye - as in rye bread - rye instatement]\*

Caller: Which department

CSR: reinstatement [pronounced as rye] and check the record if they could

put the policy back in force again.

Caller: (laughs)

CSR: so there's a letter here so there's a justification - we need to review

the documents here to see if they are already sufficient.

Caller: So it's going to which department?

CSR: Reinstatement department [pronounced as rye]

Caller: State department?

CSR: Reinstatement [pronounced as rye]

Caller: Statement?

CSR: R-E-I-N-S-T-A-T-E-M-E-N-T [CSR spells out the word letter-by-letter]

Caller: alright re – reinstatement?
CSR: You've got it correctly now, Sir.

Caller: Thank you ...

[added explanation shown in square brackets]

In terms of prosodic features across utterances, Tayao (2004) makes reference to studies that suggest that no distinction is made in the final intonation pattern of Wh-questions and Yes/No questions in Philippine English. This appears to be supported by instances in our data, where the CSR may use a rising intonation pattern for all question types. In Standard American English, if this pattern of rising intonation is given to Wh-questions, it indicates the speaker's surprise or their need for clarification. This can hence lead to a misunderstanding of the speaker's intention and create confusion. Intonation and other paralinguistic features of speech play a crucial role in exchanging interpersonal meaning, and are part of the system for conveying attitude, nuance, intention, emotion, etc. There are frequent examples in our data where subtle shifts in the customer's intonation and stress patterns, conveying irony, puzzlement, etc., are lost on the CSR and communication breaks down. As noted by Tayao (2004), more work on the prosodic features of Philippine English still needs to be carried out to identify intonation patterns across whole utterances and to see which parts of the utterance are given extra emphasis: and focus by pitch movement and volume, etc. This is another opportunity for extending our understanding of how these features work across varieties through corpus-based research from the call center context (see Tayao, this volume).

#### Language accuracy and range

In terms of lexical and grammatical aspects of language, the kinds of non-standard patterns identified in the literature for Philippine English (see Bautista, 2004a) can commonly be found in call center interactions in our data, for example: the lack of agreement between subject and verb, pronoun switching, non-standard use of prepositions in phrasal verbs, altered use of tense and aspect (e.g. use of past perfect for recent rather than distant past, overuse of the future continuous will + ing form), and most notably, the restricted use of modality.

An example of this is the tendency for the CSR to overuse would, as shown in Example 3 below. This provides further evidence to support Bautista's findings (2004a) on the use of would in place of will to refer to certain future, which she identifies as a stabilized pattern in Philippine English, echoing findings from Svalberg's research on Brunei English (1998, cited in Bautista, 2004a). When we queried CSRs on why they do this, the speakers say that they feel that would sounds more polite. This also supports Bautista's hypothesis for this pattern representing an example of the kind of 'simplification' that has taken place in Asian Englishes, as second languages, for areas of complex semantics such as English modality, tense, and aspect.

#### Example 3

CSR: it would contain all ... it would containing all in that one form, sir.

Caller: Ok ... um ... just for my edification then can you tell me what I have paid so far? Or I can put in my tax returns?

CSR: Actually I can only access the ... um ... the interest paid and the um ... taxes paid would that be ok?

Caller: ar ... well ... I got those two already, they gave me that on the, the automated message, what I'm looking for is points paid.

CSR: I see sir, well ... um ... I ... I do apologize sir, but I cannot verify the ar ... amount for you, sir, but I would assure you that it would be indicated in the statement to you receive, sir.

What does appear to be the case though is that small 'errors' or differences in lexico-grammar, such as subject/verb agreement or the lack of past tense marking are rarely the cause of major breakdowns in communication. In our experience, pointing out the common differences in the grammar of Philippine English and that of Standard American English can be very useful during training. From interviewing the trainees, we have found that although such patterns are habitualized and systematic in their own speech patterns, trainees are usually able, on reflection, to explain the use of tense, aspect, and modality of Standard American English texts and to produce these structures in practice sessions. This kind of meta-awareness can help in the negotiation of meaning over the phone among diverse speakers. Again, there is huge potential in this context for future research into the lexico-grammar of

Philippine English in different social groups in the context of global exchanges, and this would benefit from case studies of language use and acquisition, and from a corpus-driven approach, which would reveal key tendencies across the industry.

#### Discourse and strategic competence

The novice CSR also needs to acquire communicative competence in terms of understanding: (i) the predictive stages of the call flow, (ii) how transitions are made across stages and moves in the text, and (iii) how to organize information in a way that is easy for the customer to follow over the phone without the benefits of face-to-face communication. Discourse capability is a hidden problem in the language use of the CSR, as evidenced by the absence of training in this area in the programs we reviewed. All CSRs go through 'product' training in order to understand the range of products that callers may be concerned about. Once the training is finished, the CSRs are tested to ensure they have understood the product information. However, understanding the information is one thing — being able to explain it to others requires different skills. While one would expect 'novice' CSRs to experience difficulty explaining product details at the beginning, it was interesting to note that even very experienced CSRs were having difficulty explaining their products clearly and unambiguously.

The problem with following a linear 'problem — solution' discourse structure may be related to potential differences in the rhetorical structure of Filipino communication that is influencing features of Philippine English at both the macro-level and at the clause level, features that create local cohesion and coherence across a spoken text. Thus, we suggest that there may be features in the discourse structure of Philippine English that are, at times, incompatible with conventional discourse patterns in Standard American English. This manifests in claims by customers and clients that the CSR sounds as if they are 'beating around the bush' or are 'long-winded' in their explanations.

This area requires further research to avoid the stereotypical characterizarion of Asian discourse as 'circular' in comparison with a 'linear' Western organization of ideas. As argued by Kubota and Lehner (2004), a critical position needs to be adopted concerning the relationship between discourse structures and cultural factors. Recent research, for example Brew and Cairns (2004), shows that the context of an interaction will greatly affect the choices made within a text. In the case of a call center interaction, the globalized context, i.e. a customer service interaction with an American customer concerning a product or service from an American organization, may override the inherent cultural norms of the Filipino context. An investigation of a corpus of call center discourse can reveal such diversity in

discourse level patterns and display how different expectations can cause confusion and frustration, as evidenced in the call sample below.

#### Example 4

CSR: Actually we don't have it in our system, the one you provided me, um when was the charges declared to you? When were the charges made?

Caller: What?

CSR: When was the charges were made?

Caller: I'm not calling about when was the charges were made, I want a different credit card bill, in the future, do you understand?

CSR: Yes I do understand, that's difficult however, we already have it in our system the one you just provided to me.

Caller: OK, GET IT OUT! God ... what do you have to do is to get it out? CSR: it's already ... it's already err ... removed in our system, Mr. B ...

Caller: ok ...

CSR: So I think don't worry about this one. Would you mind give me again your telephone number please, so that I can double-check that one, Mr. B?

Caller: 1111 1111

CSR: I apologize but could you repeat that for me, please.

Caller: 1111 1111

CSR: Thank you. Actually it's already removed from our system for you Mr. B, let me um ... double check for you.

[on hold, 10 secs.]

CSR: When was the charges was made Mr. B? Because actually in our system you're already, we're already don't have an account that is provided for your XXX card the one that you've just mentioned to me.

Caller: Sir, I don't understand what you're asking me, I mean I'm just trying to change the credit card number, that's all I'm trying to do.

CSR: Actually, sir your credit card has already been updated to the one you provided to me, would you like to change your XXX card?

Because your XXX card has already been updated with that,
Mr. B...

Caller: With what?

CSR: With the one that you've told me earlier the last 4 digits, the first credit card that you provided to me, are you going to change ... change to another card, sir?

Caller: Oh ... ok ... you're making this difficult, I ask you to cancel the credit card that 111111 111 and put my new credit card on 2222 2222 ...

CSR: I see ... ok, yes, I would be happy to do that for you, I'm going to update and change the new credit card, may I have the new credit card number again, I'm sorry I didn't get it err ... at first. I'm sorry ...

Caller: Sir, can I talk to somebody else? This is not working ... ok ... this is ... this is not working and it's taking too much of my time [...]

As shown in Example 4, the interaction between the CSR and caller appears to be problematic, due to a lack of call control, and direct responses and questions. It is difficult at this stage to say whether such features are habitual in Philippine English call center interactions, and further research is needed in this area.

#### Interactive and sociolinguistic competence

The interactive capability of the Filipino CSR appears to be highly problematic at times, especially in situations where the customer expresses anger or frustration. This appears to be both cultural and linguistic in nature. While Filipinos are very service-oriented and out to please, they have difficulty in diffusing the anger, irritation, and frustration of customers. The flip side of a service orientation can also be a reluctance to deal with confrontation, which often results in the CSR retreating into silence or resorting to formulaic responses to arrest the anger (see Forey and Hood, 2006).

In their analysis of interpersonal meanings of a call, Forey and Hood (2006) have been able to illustrate the prosodic patterns, i.e. peaks of frustration and intensity, and smooth, calm exchanges from both the CSR and caller. Appraisal analysis (Martin and White, 2005) was used to map interpersonal meaning in a sample of call service interaction texts. In their study, they found that, typically, the caller was not using language which explicitly expressed frustration and intensity, e.g. 'very crappy service'; rather, the caller tended to use far more implicit language to express their frustration, e.g. 'this is the twelfth person I've spoken to', 'they promised to get back to me in 24 hours'. In many cases, the caller would use dates, numbers, and other forms of what are called 'graduation' within Appraisal System (Martin and White, 2005) to imply that they were angry and unhappy. Another criticism of the Filipino CSR is that frequently they lack a strategic problem-solving ability in resolving problems raised by customers. This obviously relates to the amount of experience the CSR has, but may also be influenced by cultural issues of hierarchy and decision-making skills. Many CSRs do not feel it is their role to anticipate problems and to come up with creative solutions. This is a much-valued trait in Western cultures, but it requires confidence, a sense of authority and expertise, and very good language skills.

#### Conclusion

From an applied linguistics perspective, the Philippine BPO context is a site that provides a unique opportunity to investigate the nature of English language communication, as it occurs in a globalized context between diverse

speakers. However, as outlined in our earlier discussions, the study of authentic language in the workplace creates a number of theoretical, ideological, and pedagogical challenges for the applied linguist. From a theoretical and descriptive perspective, the industry offers complex sites for the investigation of World Englishes as they come into contact and transform in the global workplace. As we have noted, ideological issues concerning language use become foregrounded in this industry. In addition to adding to existing descriptions of Philippine English, the research discussed above provides insights into how businesses and their customers perceive and respond to this 'outer-circle variety'. A key task for the applied linguist is to educate such businesses to prioritize 'comprehensibility' and resourcefulness in the speech of the offshore CSR, rather than reinforcing their expectations of creating an 'on-shore' linguistic identity for their agents.

Pedagogically, the apprenticeship of the novice CSR creates challenges for curriculum design, methodology, and language assessment. New recruits must be provided with training that factors in the development of specific competencies for the CSR in the practice of customer service, while at the same time acknowledging the linguistic diversity of English in the global workplace. Applied research studies can also yield important contributions to all these areas. With the kind of figures for projected growth that have been forecast for this industry, there is a real need for further collaboration, research, and discussion between stakeholders, language practitioners, educationalists, and linguists to provide the basis for informed solutions that provide the space for innovation and the development of local potential. Future research into how English is adapting to these new functional requirements of the Philippine call center may assist the development of the BPO industry while also contributing to the development of language education nationwide.

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# Part III Philippine English Literature

## Colonial education and the shaping of Philippine literature in English

Isabel Pefianco Martin

#### Introduction

In 1928, an American school teacher in the Philippines reported that many of his students' compositions had incorporated the 'indelible impression' of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's romantic poem *Evangeline*. The teacher noted that in these compositions:

One nipa¹ shack had acquired dormer windows with gables projecting and was surrounded by primeval mangoes and acacia. A mere tuba gatherer had a face which shone with celestial brightness as if he ambled home with his flagons of home-brewed tuba.² Every fair maiden in the class was endowed with eyes as black as the berry that grows on the thorn by the wayside as she strode to church with her chaplet of beads and missal, this last word usually being spelled 'missle'. (Annex Teacher, 1928a: 7)

What this American teacher had observed was perhaps a rather early instance of the cultural cloning of the Filipinos, and after the Philippines' independence from the United States in 1946, it has been claimed that many Filipinos continued to behave like so-called 'brown Americans'.

What specific strategies did the American colonizers use to create this 'brown American'? The answer may be found in the language and literature education prescribed by the colonial educators, as the success of American public education in the Philippines may be partly attributed to the Anglo-American canon of literature introduced in Philippine classrooms. However, this literary canon would not have been as potent without the powerful partner of colonial pedagogy. Together, canon and pedagogy produced a certain type of language and literature education that created standards for Philippine writing. Cumulatively, canon, pedagogy, and the power of American public education in the Philippines resulted in the relegation of Philippine writing in English, as well as writing in the native languages, to the margins of the Philippine cultural experience.

#### Establishing the colonial canon

When the Americans arrived in the Philippines in 1898, they took pains to undo the knots that the Spanish colonizers had left in the country after occupying it for 300 years. On August 13, 1898, a few months before American forces officially occupied Manila, American soldiers had already begun to teach in Corregidor (Estioko, 1994: 186). It is assumed that their first lesson was English. Less than a month later, on September 1, 1898, Fr. William D. McKinnon, the chaplain of the American military forces, opened seven schools in Manila (Martin, 1980: 117). It was no accident that the first teachers of English in the Philippines were American soldiers, as public education was introduced by the Americans as an essential component of military strategy. In the aftermath of World War Two, the American General Douglas McArthur also highlighted the importance of education to the US military, when he declared that: "The matter [public education] is so closely allied to the exercise of military force in these islands that in my annual report I treated the matter as a military subject and suggested a rapid extension of educational facilities as an exclusively military measure' (UNESCO, 1953: 74).

Throughout the American colonial period, English was systematically promoted as the language that would 'civilize' the Filipinos. It was the language that the colonizer introduced to the colonized so that the latter would be able to participate in a society determined by colonialism. It was educational policy to systematically exclude the native languages from formal schooling. Such a policy was institutionalized through the heavy use of instructional materials of Anglo-American origin for language instruction. Throughout four decades of American public education, Filipino students were exposed to a canon of literature that included works of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, Washington Irving, and Ralph Waldo Emerson, as well as those of Shakespeare, George Elliott, Matthew Arnold, and the romantic poets. Meanwhile, Filipinos were using their own languages outside the schools.

When the Americans arrived in the Philippines in 1898, the Filipinos already had a literature in Spanish and in the native languages. In fact, even before the 300-year colonial rule of Spain, oral literature existed throughout the islands in the form of songs, proverbs, riddles, myths, and epics (Lumbera and Lumbera, 1997: 1–5). By the end of the nineteenth century, as Spanish colonial rule began to weaken, literature throughout the islands consisted largely of religious poems and essays published by the Catholic Church, as well as secular and revolutionary literature that survived through oral tradition and circulated manuscripts (Lumbera and Lumbera, 1997: 42–46). This was also a period that literary scholar and Jesuit priest Miguel Bernad describes as the first of two literary renaissances in the nineteenth century (Bernad, 1961: 8).

In the first decade of American colonialism, with memories of the revolution against Spain still fresh, secular values spread rapidly as a rejection of 300 years of religious domination. Spanish declined but English had not yet gained a foothold. Thus, the floodgates of literature in the native languages were flung wide open. With a newfound freedom of expression under the American colonizers, Philippine poetry, fiction, and journalism flourished in the native languages. Literary critics and historians Bienvenido Lumbera and Cynthia Nograles Lumbera write:

The downfall of Spanish colonialism freed the printing press from the stranglehold of religious censorship ... Where publishing was in the hands of patriotic investors, the printing press was also used to counter the inroads of American culture into Philippine life. All over the country, newspapers and magazines using local languages proliferated. In this manner did literary works intended for the mass audience become regular reading fare in the various regions. Among the newspapers that provided space for literary pieces were Muling Pagsilang (1903, Tagalog), Ang Kaluwasan (1902, Cebuano), Makinaugalingon (1913, Ilongo), and Nueva Era (1908, Iloko). (Lumbera and Lumbera, 1997: 8)

However, in spite of the existence of a wealth of writing by Filipinos, Philippine literature was not immediately recognized inside the colonial classroom. It was only during the latter half of American colonialism, with the introduction of the readers of Camilo Osias and the textbook of Francisco Benitez and Paz Marquez Benitez, that the canon in the classroom opened up to Filipino writers.<sup>3</sup>

It is easy to understand why Philippine literature was not recognized in the colonial classroom. First of all, the Philippine literature that flourished at the beginning of the American colonial period was not in English but in native languages such as Tagalog, Cebuano, Ilongo, and Ilocano (Lumbera and Lumbera, 1997: 8). As it had been the policy from the start that native languages were not to be used in schools, Philippine literature certainly had no place in school.4 In 1925, a comprehensive study of the educational system of the Philippines (also known as the 1925 Monroe Report) reported that Filipino students had no opportunity to study in their native language, and recommended that the native language be used as an auxiliary medium of instruction in courses such as character education, and good manners and right conduct (Board of Educational Survey, 1925: 40). In spite of this, American education officials insisted on the exclusive use of English in the public schools until 1940, ensuring that the English language became, in the words of Renato Constantino, a 'wedge that separated the Filipinos from their past' (Constantino, 1982: 12).

Other than language, a more compelling reason for barring Philippine literature from inclusion in the canon of the classroom was that Anglo-American literature best served the interests of the colonizers. In this canon, the following titles were included:

Table 12.1 The literacy canon in the colonial classroom

| Titles .  | Authors                    |
|---|----------------------------|
| The Song of Hiawatha, Evangeline, and The Courtship of Miles Standish | Henry Wadsworth Longfellow |
| The Alhambra  | Washington Irving          |
| Gettysburg Address  | Abraham Lincoln            |
| Self-Reliance   | Ralph Waldo Emerson        |
| Robinson Crusoe   | Daniel Defoe               |
| The Merchant of Venice, As You Like It, Macbeth, and Julius Caesar    | William Shakespeare        |
| Lady of the Lake  | Walter Scott               |
| Sohrab and Rustum   | Matthew Arnold             |
| The Life of Samuel Johnson  | Thomas Babington Macaulay  |
| Silas Marner  | George Eliot               |

A detailed analysis of these texts, as well as the way they were taught to Filipino children, reveals the combined power of curriculum, canon, and pedagogy in promoting myths about colonial realities. These texts made natural and legitimate the illusion that colonialism existed for the sake of the colonized and not the colonizers.

The first American teachers of English in Philippine schools were products of a particular period in the history of education in the United States. It was a period characterized by the dominance of the Latin and Greek classics, and English as an academic discipline had not yet been recognized. In fact, in the latter part of the 1800s, the study of English in the United States was considered a 'feminine preoccupation' (Graff, 1987: 37). In 1894, when the National Conference on Uniform Entrance Requirements prescribed a list of readings for students taking college entrance exams, the first canon of literature in English was born in the United States (Graff, 1987: 99). It is also worth noting that, in the United States at that time, English courses typically included only literature from England, and not America. Before 1920, the study of American literature was a 'professionally suspect enterprise' (Lauter, 1991: 258), and it was only after the First World War, during a period of superpatriotism in the United States, that the study of American literature gained prestige (Graff, 1987: 128, 130).

In the meantime, in the Philippines of the early 1900s, Filipino students were already asked to read the works of Longfellow. One wonders why these works were included in this colonial canon when in the United States at this time, Longfellow was regarded by critics as 'shallow' and 'didactic' (Snyder and Snyder, 1953: 583–4). From 1904, Evangeline was read by all Filipino high school students, and by 1911, The Song of Hiawatha was read by all Filipinos in all public elementary schools in the country. One Filipino writer notes that: 'the exposure of the Filipinos to the democratic virtues was made easier, not by Burke and Tom Paine and Jefferson and the authors of the Federalist Papers but a man of avuncular disposition by the name of Longfellow' (Soliongco, 1983: 210).

A closer inspection of Evangeline and The Song of Hiawatha reveals themes that directly promoted American colonialism. As in these texts, one finds prescriptions for good behavior in a colonized society. In 1925, a report issued by the Bureau of Educational Survey criticized the choice of The Song of Hiawatha as instructional material: 'Whether Hiawatha is the most valuable selection for a considerable period in the seventh grade for Filipino children is at least subject to question. The struggle for the vocabulary is a hard one, the imagery is often entirely beyond the experience of the Filipino child' (240). What the Board failed to consider was that the poem presents scenes quite familiar to Filipino children. Consider the following passage from Longfellow's The Song of Hiawatha:

I beheld our nation scattered, All forgetful of my counsels, Weakened, warring with each other: Saw the remnants of our people Sweeping westward, wild and woful, Like the cloud-rack of a tempest, Like the withered leaves of Autumn! (Longfellow, 1906: 181)

Hiawatha, the native American hero in the stories of Longfellow, has a vision of a nation divided and desolate. This vision comes before the arrival of the 'Black-robe chief, the Prophet ... the Priest of Prayer, the Pale-face' (Longfellow, 1906: 186). Hiawatha might as well have been a Filipino village elder, his tribe a barangay,<sup>5</sup> the pale-face visitor a Spanish Catholic priest.

The Song of Hiawatha begins in a romantic tone by appealing to readers who have faith in God and nature. Hiawatha is the son of Wenonah and the god Mudjekeewis. As a half-mortal, Hiawatha possesses supernatural powers that make him the leader of his tribe. As leader, he defends his tribe against enemies natural or supernatural. Given his character, one wonders why Hiawatha welcomes with resignation 'the Priest of Prayer, the Pale-face', whose first message was the story of Christ and the Virgin Mary. Such a scene was quite familiar to Filipino children: the White Man sets foot on native shores with a message from God that justifies conquest, and this theme of colonialism pervades Longfellow's poem.

The same theme runs through Longfellow's Evangeline, which was first taught in Philippine secondary schools in 1904. The poem was such a favorite among teachers that students were required to memorize it (Board of Educational Survey, 1925). On the surface, readers may conclude that Evangeline is just a poem about the ill-fated love of Evangeline and Gabriel. However, a closer look reveals characters whose lives are determined by colonial conditions. Evangeline is based on an allegedly real-life event in Nova Scotia in 1755, during the French-Indian War (Halleck, 1934). At that time,

Colonial education and the shaping of Philippine literature in English 251

Nova Scotians (referred to as French Acadians in the poem) were violently ejected from their land by the English. In the poem, the ejection causes the lovers Evangeline and Gabriel to be separated from each other. Despite the violence inflicted by the colonizers and the consequent tragedies that befell the characters, not one of the main characters speaks up against the English. One minor character, the blacksmith Basil, makes an attempt, but is ignored by the deeply religious and mild-mannered Acadians. With colonial oppression conveniently set aside, the Acadians focus instead on the doomed love of Evangeline and Gabriel, and the poem ends in a romantic and sentimental proclamation of the greatness of Evangeline's and Gabriel's love.

It is easy to see why Longfellow's poems were invaluable tools of American colonialism in the Philippines. However, the Anglo-American literary canon, powerful as it might be, would not have been as potent on its own. Direct exposure to such a canon did not automatically ensure the creation of so-called 'brown Americans'. Such a view presupposes that literature has a direct effect on readers, that the language of literature is transparent, thus making its meaning immediately accessible to the reader. However, the act of reading cannot be reduced to the simple act of recovering meaning from a text, and decoding embedded message. Rather, it involves what Paulo Freire describes as 'reading the word-world', where text and reader converge to produce meaning (Freire and Macedo, 1987: 7). Such a view of reading shatters the notion of the literary text as the sole source of meaning. The reader is thus empowered, becoming a co-creator in the reading process. However, as the act of reading liberates, so too does it subjugate. In the context of the colonial classroom, there is another force that intervenes in the production of meaning, which is the human agent, the teacher.

#### Colonial teaching practices

In 1904, Washington Irving's *The Alhambra* and Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's *Evangeline* were first taught to first-year high-school Filipino students. *The Merchant of Venice* and other plays by Shakespeare were introduced to third-year high-school Filipino students. One wonders how, after only a few years of exposure to the alien English language, these students could access literary texts of such complex language and strange culture. The key, of course, was the teacher.

During the early years of public education in the Philippines, memorization became a popular method of pedagogy. This was described by one school principal as the only way by which Filipino students could learn English. In 1911, she wrote the following:

We must insist that every day in his first three years of school life, the Filipino child has a dialogue lesson, and we must make him commit that lesson absolutely to memory. For instance suppose his first lesson is as brief as this: Good morning, Pedro.

Good morning, Jose.

How are you this morning, Pedro?

Thank you, I am very well.

It would not be cruelty to animals to insist on any second grade pupil's committing that lesson to memory. (Fee, 1911: 114)

This school principal believed that, like American students, Filipinos would best learn the language, not by reading, but by memorizing dialogues, the same dialogues American children memorized in American schools. This, of course, was symptomatic of the practice by American teachers in the Philippines of importing teaching methods from the US. And why not? After all, the Philippines was a colony of the United States.

This and other mechanical methods of teaching the English language manifested themselves in different pedagogical practices in the public schools: stressing eye movements in reading, asking students to read aloud, making them perform grammar drills, and expecting them to recite memorized passages. The practices became so widespread that in 1913, Paul Monroe, later appointed head of the Board of Educational Survey, wrote the following about language education in the Philippines: 'Grammar seems to be too much separated from language work. ... The method employed seems to be largely a question and answer method — often combined with mere memorized work' (Monroe, 1913: 150).

In 1925, the Board of Educational Survey, which conducted a comprehensive study of the Philippine public school system, reported similar findings: 'Children in upper grades seem to have a "reciting" knowledge of more technical English grammar than most children in corresponding grades in the American schools. To what degree this helps them in speaking and writing English no one really knows' (239). This mechanical method of teaching English also found its way into the teaching of literature. The 1925 Board of Educational Survey made the following observation about a typical language-oriented literature class:

Practically an entire semester of the freshman year is given to an intensive study of *Evangeline*, a selection that can be read by an ordinary reader in two or three hours. Obviously this poem is read intensively. It is analyzed, taken to pieces, put back together, looked at from every angle, and considered in all of its relations. Such a course in literature is really a course in intellectual analysis of the most unprofitable kind. This analytic method of teaching literature is sanctified by a long academic tradition and should provide a splendid training for the literary critic, but, as a means for developing taste for literature and an interest in reading, little can be said in its defence. (Board of Educational Survey, 1925: 378)

In 1929, one American schoolteacher reported the following practice in literature classes in the Philippines:

The course in literature was a misnomer. It should have been called 'The Comparative Anatomy of Our Best Works'. We skinned participles and hung the pelts on the blackboard to dry. We split infinitives, in much the same manner as a husky midwestern youth splits a stick of wood. We hammered the stuffing out of the compound and complex sentences, leaving the mere shells of their selves. We took our probes and dug into the vitals of literary masterpieces, bringing their very souls to the light of day. ... We analyzed sentences and defined words — in short, we completed the course, as outlined, including the most important thing: the correct manner of passing the final examinations. (Graphic, 1929: 7)

Such teaching practice — the mechanical, language-oriented approach to analyzing literary texts — presupposes that these texts are models of good English and therefore worthy of detailed study. These practices, of course, resonate with linguistics, which is perceived to be a more objective and rigorous study of language. Thus, with the authority of science, the teachers presented the Anglo-American canon, not just as examples of great literature, but also as examples of good English.

Exposure to such a canon and pedagogy exacted a toll both on Philippine writing in English and on standards for Philippine literature. From the compositions of Filipino students alone, one can already see the effects of American colonial education on writing. In 1928, one English teacher observed that in writing compositions, students tended to mimic the Anglo-American writers they read in class. An example of this follows:

Amongst my female sectionmates there is one who will make my heart stop throbbing whenever I will gaze upon her. She is not pure Filipina but are what we call in the Philippines Mestiza. She have a golden kinky hair and a oblong face on which was a rare and sporadic pimples. She is not so white as plate nor so black as Negro, but between the two, so that when the sun will shine on her face a blood running thru the arteries can be plainly seen. (Annex Teacher, 1928b: 17)

According to the student-writer's English teacher, the student (who graduated valedictorian of the class) directly lifted the words 'throbbing' and 'oblong' from Edgar Allan Poe, although Poe did not use the term 'oblong' to refer to the face of a person, but to a box. The term 'sporadic', which the student used to describe pimples, might have been taken from a biology text, or could have been a confusion with the word 'dangling'. If it was an error, then the source of the word was most likely Washington Irving. The lofty tone of the paragraph, furthermore, might be traced to Matthew Arnold. The teacher added: 'A vast army of literary knights — Chaucer, Poe, Irving, Kipling, Arnold,

Stevenson, Tennyson, Longfellow, Johnson, Noah Webster, Shakespeare and countless others — crop up continually in the written work, perhaps somewhat mangled, but recognizable nevertheless' (Annex Teacher, 1928b: 17).

Anxiety about the effect of the literary canon on student writing was expressed in a report from the General Office Supervisors of the Bureau of Education. In March 1928, they published the following statement:

The topics chosen for composition should encourage originality in thought and expression rather than reproduction of literary works. There should, of course, be nice correlations of work in literature and composition. But such a large majority of the composition topics should not be drawn from the course on literature and when the composition topic is correlated with literature, it should be so worded as to call for original thought rather than reproduction. (Philippine Public Schools, 1928: 124)

Because the Anglo-American canon was presented to Filipino students as examples of great literature, writing in Philippine schools tended to imitate the language of these texts. A similar observation was made about Philippine writing in English by George Pope Shannon, head of the University of the Philippines English Department, who, in 1928, declared that Filipino writers had a tendency toward the 'slavish imitation' of Anglo-American texts (6).

During the latter part of American colonialism, the mechanical, languageoriented approach to studying literature became less popular. The 1933 Course of Study in Literature, which was distributed to all teachers of English in the public school system, promoted a more 'literary' way of reading the texts. In this document, the objective of teaching literature was defined as: 'to give our students a literary experience — enable them most vividly to realize some part of the literary materials read. Success in teaching any bit of literature is to be measured by the keenness with which the experience there set forth is realized by the pupils' (Bureau of Secondary Education, 1933: 5). In stressing the literary experience, the teacher was now less concerned about the linguistic features of a text and more focused on the almost 'natural' effect great literature had on the reader. Students were taught to appreciate literature by studying the extrinsic and intrinsic elements of a literary text. The 1933 Course of Study also suggested that 'the student should have a knowledge of a brief history of English and American literature touching only on the outstanding figures and the salient political, social, and literary characteristics of the more important periods' (Bureau of Secondary Education, 1933: 56).

In the literature class, studying these 'important periods' presupposes that writing is determined by 'race, milieu, and moment' and that it is necessary to look into history, biography, or anything external to a literary text that is believed to have influenced its creation. It may be argued that this approach to studying literary texts, by focusing on elements extrinsic to literature, was a logical extension of the mechanical, language-oriented pedagogical practices

which were presented as more rigorous, objective, and therefore scientific. The effect, of course, was to transport Filipino students to times and places unfamiliar to them. In this world, the language was foreign, the experience was strange, the images were mysterious, a world that was totally alien, and yet one representing greatness. In such a setting of high culture and civilization, however, there was no room for the more familiar fables, folktales, and epics of Philippine culture.

But it was not just the study of context that drove a wedge between Filipino students and their own culture. An analysis of the intrinsic features of literary texts in the Anglo-American canon, in other words, the study of text as text, also propagated the myth of greatness. The view that literature was an elevated art form with the ability to naturally express itself is apparent in the following recommendation of the 1933 Course of Study in Literature:

Lyric poetry should not be studied analytically. Do not try to make the class 'thrill' over it. Instead, read the selection or have it read as rhythmically as possible, and trust the students to catch the spirit of it. In the advanced classes some analysis may be attempted of the more difficult types of poetry, some attention should be paid to imagery and to metrical forms, but neither should be permitted to be cloud the spirit and sensuous appeal of the poem. Seldom should the reading of a beautiful passage be interrupted to explain an unknown expression. Explain or have explained the dialect and allusions before-hand. (Bureau of Secondary Education, 1933: 97)

Literature, in this case, lyric poetry, was believed to possess a spirit, an essence that could be recovered by the reader. Thus, the teacher was cautioned against interrupting this 'natural' process of capturing the spirit. The power, of course, to create meaning lies in the literary text and not in the reader. In a colonial setting, such an approach to studying literature tended to reduce the student to a passive receiver, a receptacle or repository, of meaning.

In 1928, George Pope Shannon, head of the English Department of the University of the Philippines and adviser of the UP Writers Club, warned writers about the following four tendencies in Philippine literature in English: (1) slavish imitation, or the tendency of Philippine literature to imitate Anglo-American texts; (2) provincialism, or the tendency of Philippine literature to be confined to narrow issues such as patriotism; (3) self-complacency, or the tendency of Philippine writing in English to reject issues that interest the general reader; and (4) discouragement, or the tendency of Filipino writers to lose confidence in their own writing because of the low quality of their work (6). These observations, coming from an American educator who had a wide influence on Filipino writers, provided an enduring critique of Philippine creative writing. Of the four tendencies identified by Shannon, it was this tendency for slavish imitation that the Filipino writer and critic Casiano Calalang rejected most strongly when he argued that:

it will profit us to pay particular attention to our surroundings, to the peculiarities that make them different from others, to the atmosphere of our villages which can not be confounded with the metropolitanism of the city. And when in our mind the differences are clear, let us start with enthusiasm and vigor to write stories that will breathe the heat and passion of the tropics, and bear the distinctive stamp FILIPINO. (1928: 3)

With this statement, Calalang laid bare the contradictions Filipino writers of English were facing during the period of American colonialism. On the one hand, Filipinos were expected to produce writing that was acceptable to the general reader, that is, the American reader, or more precisely, the Filipino reader with the literary taste of an American (a taste, of course, developed in the colonial classroom with the Filipinos' exposure to Anglo-American texts). On the other hand, it was also demanded that Philippine writing in English be original. And to be original meant to infuse Philippine literature with local color, a quality hardly consistent with the nature of the Anglo-American texts Filipinos were expected to read and imitate.

#### The shaping of Philippine writing

Ten years after the success of the first Philippine short story in English ('Dead Stars' by Paz Marquez Benitez), another Filipino writer and critic Arturo Rotor (1937) lamented the fact that Philippine writing in English was still in the experimental stage, and decried the abuse of local color in most short stories. Many years later, Casiano Calalang decided to write in Tagalog, explaining that 'it was better in Tagalog' because 'English was very simple, very direct' (Alegre and Fernandez, 1984: 22).

The demand for local color was a compromise that American colonialism promoted so that Philippine literature in English would become acceptable by its standards. It was a concept that allowed Philippine literature in English an opening into the mainstream of literary life in the Philippines. It was also a symptom of the contradictions in Philippine literary life as a result of American colonial education. On the one hand, Filipino writers were expected to be original in their writing, that is, to avoid mimicking Anglo-American literature. And yet, the only literary texts they were exposed to in the colonial classroom were Anglo-American. With the promotion of local color as a standard of excellence, American colonialism, through education as a potent instrument, successfully delimited the sphere of Philippine literature in English to that space where great literature does not belong. With the demand for local color, Philippine literature in English was effectively pushed to the margins of the mainstream, thus relegating it to the position of an 'other' literature.

By contrast, local color was not an issue in Tagalog literature, precisely because Tagalog literature already lay at the margins of American colonial society. Filipinos schooled in the Anglo-American canon saw in Tagalog literature the so-called flaws of romantic form and content. In 1935, Genaro Virtusio wrote the following about the Tagalista, or Filipino writer of Tagalog: 'The trouble with our Tagalistas, is that they are content to cater to the great bulk that is the unsuspecting ignorant mass yearning to be emotionally tickled and sentimentally pleased, disregarding all that is good and beautiful, and worth-having in literature' (2). The 'great bulk' that Virtusio was referring to were the thousands of readers ('the unsuspecting ignorant mass') of the Tagalog magazine Liwayway. The wide readership of this magazine during the colonial period suggests that emotional, sentimental, and moralistic literature was very popular. Virtusio's statement also reveals that at that time, emotionalism and sentimentalism were considered qualities of poor writing, as well as of poor taste in literature. Such qualities belonged to the opposite side of what were considered 'good' and 'beautiful'.

It should, however, be noted that this penchant for romantic writing was also evident in Philippine literature in English. In 1928, Jose Garcia Villa wrote:

Love has been the major ingredient all these years and because of its overuse, has spoiled the story ... While this passion for the love story may seem only the writer's fault, it is equally the reading public's ... Also, it must be known that the Filipino public has a weakness for flowery language. A writer who does not use florid words is not appreciated. (2)

Like Virtusio, Villa was referring to the popularity of romantic literature that was made available to the public through weekly English and Tagalog magazines. However, in 1929, Thomas Inglis Moore, professor of English at the University of the Philippines, wrote that:

sentimentalism is the worst weakness of all Filipino literature. It is caused by the emotional and idealistic nature of the people and by the fact that their literature is doubly adolescent — written with an adolescent knowledge of the English language and by adolescent minds. Turn to the pages of the Collegian or the Sunday Tribune or the Herald. Read the works of Mr. Galang — if you can do so. Take the St. Claire translation of the FLORANTE AND LAURA. Here, in general, we have a welter of emotion which has little relation to the facts of life, especially the hard ones. Everything is ideal, especially in the emotional sense of the term. It is depressingly subjective. There is no substance of objective reality. It is sloppy, molluscan; it has no vertebrate of fact. (Hernandez, 1936: 1)

#### Conclusion

At a literary conference at the University of Santo Tomas in 1932, Eufronio Alip made a distinction between the Philippine short story in English and its counterpart in the native language, claiming that the latter was sickeningly 'sentimental', the former was 'real' — one realistic, the other grossly 'romantic' (18). A few years later, in 1936, Jose M. Hernandez, Head of the Department of English of the University of Santo Tomas, attempted to rationalize and naturalize romanticism in Philippine literature. He wrote that:

in writing there are certain qualities of the English language which are difficult of assimilation in an Oriental country like ours; for, whereas the best English writing demands the crispness, sharpness, severity and economy of expression, the Oriental manner of speaking and writing calls always for wordiness, ornate language, a 'fine writing' — all these being very suggestive of pleonasm and surplusage. (Hernandez, 1936: 5)

It is clear from the statements above that what was considered as a weakness of Philippine writing was also perceived as a weakness of the Filipino race. These observations from Filipino critics and educators, as well as from influential American educators, tended to perpetuate the dichotomies between occidental and oriental languages, realistic and romantic literatures, high literature and low literature, good taste and poor taste, maturity and adolescence, intelligence and ignorance. Thus, in a hierarchy of literary standards imposed through education by American colonialism, Philippine romantic literature in English or Tagalog was consigned to the very bottom of the heap. Of course, on top of that heap was Philippine literature in English that was infused with realism and local color, while at the highest point were Anglo-American literary texts, regardless of their realism or romanticism.

Today, when Filipino teachers of English ask language education authorities in government what English they should teach their students, they are told to stick to SAE — Standard American English, and the thought of a Philippine variety of English continues to be abhorrent to many. Philippine English is perceived to be an obstacle to attaining full-fledged membership in the global community and a barrier to cutting-edge English language education. Such perceptions are at least partly derived from the Filipino experience of American colonial education. As a result of that experience, Filipinos are constantly reminded that language and literature education is never neutral, and that while education has the power to propel cultures, it also has the power to silence marginal voices.

#### Notes

- 1. A *nipa* shack is a house with leaves similar to coconut tree leaves as a roof.
- 2. Tuba is coconut wine.
- 3. It should be noted that these textbooks were written in English.
- 4. The native language (Pilipino) was not allowed to be taught in the public schools until 1940.
- 5. A barangay is a Filipino village or community.
- 6. The phrase 'race, milieu, and moment' is associated with Hippolyte Taine (1828–93), who was described as the first to elaborate a strictly deterministic history of literature. His first assumption is that national histories can be explained by 'some very general disposition of mind and soul'. This elementary 'moral state' is conditioned by environmental factors 'the race, the surroundings, and the epoch'. From the resulting disposition arises a certain 'ideal model of man', which is expressed pre-eminently in literature. (Selden, 1988: 419)

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# Negotiating language: Postcolonialism and nationalism in Philippine literature in English

Lily Rose Tope

#### Introduction

The use of English as a communicative and literary medium raises a wide range of issues relating to language and nationalism. As a colonial legacy, English is remembered for the cultural violence it has wrought in colonial classrooms, and has been seen as an instrument of linguistic displacement and social stratification. In Decolonising the Mind, Ngugi wa Thiong'o (1981) traces the colonial process of imposition in his discussion of the dual character of language. In its simpler form, language is communication; it transmits real events, speech and the written word as well as providing the means of exchange in simple relationships and reflexive representations. It provides Ngugi's Gikuyu child with a serendipitous world of familiar ways and accepted traditions. In its complex form, language is culture; it emerges from shared experiences — attitudes, knowledge, rhythms — which eventually form a way of life distinguishable from other ways of life. As culture, language is transformed into a bearer of values which form the 'basis of people's identity, the basis of their particularity'. It thus becomes 'the collective memory bank of a people's experience in history' (Ngugi, 1981: 15) and the representation of the image the people make of themselves.

Because English has been a language of disruption and a wedge between communication and culture, it is difficult to imagine English performing as a creator of community, as a language of nationalism. Nevertheless, colonialism is not a one-way process, and the colonized have impinged on the language of the colonizer consciously and otherwise. Both New (1978) and Brathwaite (1984) believe that the confrontation of cultures inevitably leads to a 'new' language that contains elements of all the cultures involved. For Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin (1989a), literature, particularly narrative, has the capacity to domesticate even the most alien experience, with no need to reproduce the experience to signify its nature. Meaning is formed not in the mind but in the confluent 'message event' participated in by language, writer, and reader

(Ashcroft et al., 1989a: 59–60). The history of the English language in colonial societies, though, contains developments suggesting and even proving that English can be decolonized and used to express the colonized's sense of nation. The deliberate sculpting of English to resist the culture originally attached to it and make it speak for the colonized is a significant cultural feat. This implies the unhinging of English from its cultural moorings so that it may be claimed by non-English cultures.

Pragmatic concerns make the continuous presence of English essential, and therein lies the contradiction. While the language is purported to be a carrier of colonial attitudes, it too is the language of modernization and international understanding. The cosmopolitan values attributed to its internationalization keep its user in touch with the world and may be a source of liberating concepts, even though the values are also ironically responsible for one's alienation from his or her community life. Moreover, the cosmopolitanization of English gives it a neutrality that maintains its 'referential meaning', but divorces it from 'cultural connotation in the context of a specific culture' (Kachru, 1986: 9). And yet, as more people speak English, proponents of the communal languages warn of the power of English to erase ethnicity or identity and unbind one from his or her cultural foundations.

#### English and the Filipino writer

English in the Philippines is accepted as the language of technology, diplomacy, and trade; expressions of nationalism seem to be the turf of the national language, Filipino. Hence, advocates of a socially-oriented literary tradition look askance at writers in English, and the allegation that a foreign language is inadequate as a medium of expressing local sentiments has made nationalistic writers suffer problems of credibility, as there is the perception that English cannot serve as the language of the masses. In my opinion, this allegation is simplistic and does not consider the mutability of language or the dynamism of the cultural response to colonialism.

Nevertheless, the use of English in the expression of the national spirit is a contradiction and dilemma central to the postcolonial situation. Choosing English as a literary medium can be perceived as a political position that has literary ramifications, and a choice that has forced a number of writers into positions and actions of loyalty (or disloyalty) depending on the dictates of the individual conscience. On the one extreme, there are those who have abandoned the use of English, fortunate in their equal ability in the native tongue, while on the other are those who have abandoned the nation, and embraced the internationalism that English offers. Then there are those who have no choice but to write using the borrowed tongue, English being their only mode of expression, but who have remained committed to their nation

and culture, striving to prove that English can be a language of nationalism. Obviously, it is the third group that has borne much of the postcolonial burden of proof. They are committed to the nation and yet suspiciously express that commitment through a colonial language. There have been suggestions of excising the language from its cultural baggage in order to free it from its unwanted origins, although the chances of success for such an operation would be doubtful. The other recourse is to accept the language with all its cultural disadvantages and create positive uses for it. I would like to argue here that. despite its colonial origins and the detrimental effects of its imposition, and with no prejudice to the nationalistic significance of local languages, English has been and can be a language of nationalism. Although Walcott (1974) argues that the colonized's control of the language of the colonizer is servitude, not victory, I wish to argue that such mastery should be viewed as a triumph. In gaining control of the language, the colonized may use the same language both to expose their master's cruelty and to stamp their identity on their master's tongue.

One sign of the colonized's presence in the language is the exploration of subjects and themes that pertain to their nation, not least the creation of national identity. Detractors may not think much of this because works in English are supposed to be read only by the minority. The truth of the matter is that the multiplier effect this has can be quite substantial, as these readers discover the commonality and universality of their experience, which they will consequently disseminate. At present, there are recognizable signs that the English used in this region no longer belongs to the British or Americans, and that Philippine languages are asserting their presence in the English language. As Abad puts it:

... over time, a kind of spiritual homesteading in the imperial back country has been accomplished ... [f] or the images, symbols and metaphors that his words made to serve may always bear more than the words always mean beforehand; more, for they bear his very way of being. Thus English in Filipino hands, under the pressure of his own circumstances and choices becomes not English but Filipino. (Abad, 1993: 12)

#### Varieties of English and Philippine literature

English is not a static language. According to Blyden (cited in Mazrui, 1973), English is a language of accommodation and pragmatic synthesis and not a stickler for purity. In many colonized nations, it has been shaped by the dynamics of cultural impingement. Early scholarship has noted the presence of English in varying registers, from the high to the low (cited in Yeo, 1984). The high variety hews closely to standard English (in the case of the Philippines, read American) and is acceptable, while the lower registers contain

local influences and are treated as dialects or varieties. The presence of these varieties has sparked off controversies, and purists, who consider these varieties as a corrupted and substandard form of English, discourage their use. Defenders of localized Englishes equate the emergence of these varieties with identities weaned from their colonial parentage. However, while there is a necessity for standard English in everyday global transactions, there is no reason why a variety of English should not flourish, especially if there is a community that perpetuates it. To my mind, these varieties are an inevitable result of the hybridizing process of history which allows the molding of English according to its users.

While the use of standard English in the production of nationalistic works has been recognized, the use of varieties has been relatively unappreciated until recently. As successful Caribbean models have shown, a non-standard variety has the potential to be an equally, if not more, viable instrument of nationalism. First of all, these Englishes are 'evolved' languages, and while one cannot exactly call such varieties of English 'indigenous', they have undergone localization and contain elements non-English speakers can identify with. These Englishes owe their character to processes of socialization and cultural intercourse, and may also serve as 'felt' languages marked by linguistic codes of intimacy and familiarity. Perhaps therein lies the key to the success of appropriation, and if a language can adapt to the writer's bone as much as to his thought, the writer's possession of the language is total (Fernando, 1970).

Postcolonial writers from other countries attest that they consciously write in their own variety of English. Bailey and Robinson (1973) cite Mulk Raj Anand, who admits that in writing in English, he is translating from Punjabi and Hindustani into English; R.K. Narayan, who states that (among Indian writers) there has been no attempt to write Anglo-Saxon English and that Indianization has changed the flavor of the language; and Chinua Achebe, who feels that although 'English is able to carry the weight of his African experience, it will have to be a new English, still in full communion with its ancestral home but altered to suit its African surroundings' (cited in Bailey and Robinson, 1973: 8).

The situation among the writers in the Philippines is quite similar. Those who push the language to its limits to incorporate local culture do what Achebe describes as the 'fracturing' and 're-setting' of English in a manner closer to the content and spirit of the writer's environment (cited in Thumboo, 1984). To illustrate, early Philippine poetry was seen as imitative and florid, with its floridness traceable to the impingement of old traditions. As Isabela Banzon Mooney's (2001) study of Angela Manalang Gloria's poetry shows, there are traces of Spanish and local traditions in her use of English, and the romantic diction and syllabic rhythms in her verse have evoked disapproval from the critics. English 'is a language that puts a premium on restraint' and 'consider[s] poetry written in this manner as artificial, bombastic and even insincere'

(Mooney, 2001: 86). Only in recent scholarship has Manalang Gloria's poetry been re-viewed and reconsidered in new light, and when seen as conflating traditions and expressing Philippine literary experience, her poetry has gained substantial poetic clout.

Another illustration proves that there are many ways of perceiving language. Antonio Reyes Enriquez (1986) claims to 'see' the language rather than 'hear' it when it is infused with the nuances of Chavacano (a Spanish-influenced language spoken in Zamboanga):

The first thing I did was to write the way I thought and felt in my dialect or language by putting it down into English. It is something like putting the nuances or tone of one's tongue in print with a borrowed language; it is not however listening as we do in oral literature but seeing what is told, narrated, it is for example like putting a Mexican's voice and his sentiments into English and able [sic] to identify him in the borrowed tongue by seeing him through his heart and unique voice of expression — he does not really, truly lose his identity. Oh yes, indeed, in print we do not hear it, so to say, but see it. Thus conversely, we inject the tone and nuances of the Chavacano voice and his tradition into English, the borrowed tongue. The result, of course, is English with less use of English idiomatic expressions and written with the feeling, thought and sentiment of Zamboanga characters and protagonists. (178)

Here are some excerpts from Enriquez's work:

'Are they eating already?' said Ingo.

'Not yet,' 'Nor Pedro said. 'You can give him milk with boiled rice.'

'Chu will take care of him,' he said. 'Won't you, hijo?' Ingo passed a hand down the puppy's back. The puppy was soft and small under his calloused hand.

'He's nice, no?' Then, 'Say thank you to your tio.'

'Muchas gracias, tio,' said Chu. (From Asocena, 1989: 8)

'Take this for your meal. You narrow-eyed, stinking one-balled cobardes (cowards),' he shouted, flinging the darulo pulp at the wild boars. 'Cono de su puta madre ...' (From *The Wild Boars*, 1996: 76)

These passages, written in standard English, are intruded upon by Spanish-Chavacano words. The expletives especially are alien even to Philippine English so that when one reads them, one must see the characters in the mind's eye before one can locate the language. This involves a cognitive process of visualizing language, of matching language with place and characters on a Chavacano canvas. Reading such works transfers the site of cognition from the mind to the senses.

Enriquez's visual prose is actually a Filipino impingement on English, backed by tradition, as the Filipino, according to Mooney and Paterno (1993),

thinks in visual pictures, and perceives situations in images. In everyday language, Filipinos use localized metaphors to express meaning, e.g. 'It was so hot out, I felt like a fish drying in the sun' or a thin woman is like a 'native broom made of twigs' (Mooney and Paterno, 1993: 28–29). This is a characteristic of language transferred not only to Philippine literature but to Filipino English as well. It is therefore with a sense of empowerment that our writers have possessed the colonizer's language, and by indigenizing it, localizing it, and imbuing it with the spirit of the native community, they take the language on their own terms, an act that preconditions creative freedom (Thumboo, 1984).

#### The linguistic turn

It would be interesting at this point to examine the position of Filipino linguists toward the functionality of a Filipino or Philippine English as a medium of communication, and most especially, of literary expression. In 1969, Teodoro Llamzon published his *Standard Filipino English*, which claimed the existence of a standard Filipino English. According to Llamzon (2000), this claim received mixed reviews, more negative than positive. There was no consensus that a Standard Philippine English had been established, and the acceptance of the concept had to be postponed. In 1999, Ma. Lourdes Bautista concluded at the end of her study 'that 30 years after Llamzon proclaimed the existence of a Standard Filipino English, such a claim now has a basis in reality' (quoted in Llamzon, 2000: 143).

There are perhaps many reasons why it took so long to recognize the presence of a Standard Filipino English. Llamzon (2000: 139) mentions that his critics thought that he was proposing some form of 'liberation linguistics', that he was promoting a substandard form of English and that his premises were questionable. Very prominent in this debate is the issue of standardization, as there was a belief that there were too many languages impinging on English, especially in pronunciation and syntax (Sibayan, 1978). Bautista (2000) studied features of educated Philippine English and noted that the most frequent deviations are found in subject-verb agreement, articles, prepositions, and tenses. However, even today, there seems to be a strong preoccupation with a standard and despite the recognition of 'new Englishes', there have been no substantial attempts at re-considering attitudes toward deviations. In 1983, Andrew Gonzalez asked a crucial question: 'When does an error become a feature of Philippine English?' Braj Kachru suggested that a distinction be made between deviation, innovation, and a new creative expression (cited in Llamzon, 2000). This suggestion opens the space for the use of non-standard English in creative endeavors, but not in communicative ones, and English users in the Philippines remain beholden to the standard.

In her study of verbs, Bautista (2004) observes that Filipinos are so far unable to elevate their deviations to innovations, which perhaps implies that Filipinos have not yet taken full ownership of their English. This raises the question of why there is this great concern for standard English, to which one may respond that standard English is more respectable (i.e. the result of a usually expensive and good education) and more marketable (more call centers will be established locally), and that it is the language of business, government, academe, and international relations.

From a post-colonial perspective, Ismail Talib asserts that the 'norm of what "good" or "standard" English is, is derived from one of the dialects of English spoken in southeastern England which was relatively wealthier than other parts of England' (2000: 14). Talib also cites the analysis of Alberto (1997), who 'specifies that the notion of what "King's English" is might have arisen as a reaction to the threat of foreign corruption of the language [and that] "King's English" is defined negatively by fears of what English should not be rather than what it is or should be' (2000: 15). This, according to Talib, is sometimes criticized as being connected to 'linguistic imperialism', which to my mind allows the marking of deviations as signs of inferiority or otherness rather than as opportunities for innovation. I will not include other issues of the language debate here, instead I would like to show how creative writers have jumped the gun and used English, especially the non-standard kind, in the creation of language. Using a postcolonial reading, I would like to prove how linguistic escape releases the works from an allegiance to a standard, allowing the texts a certain sincerity of expression unaccompanied by fear or guilt.

#### The abrogation of Standard English in Philippine writing

The Empire Writes Back (1989b) by Ashcroft et al. cites the processes of abrogation and appropriation as crucial to the decentralization of English. Abrogation is 'the denial of the privilege of "English" that involves a rejection of the metropolitan power over the means of communication while appropriation and reconstitution of the language of the center' was used in 'capturing and remoulding the language to new usages, mark[ing] a separation from the site of colonial privilege' (Ashcroft et al., 1989b: 38). Abrogation locates language difference or variance as the site of the margin's challenge to the center. While rejecting any form of essentialism, the process nevertheless accepts the indispensability of ethnographic elements and cultural difference in the constitution of meanings. It valorizes the overlap that shows 'the creative potential of intersecting languages when overlaid on another, and of the way in which cross-cultural literature revealed how meanings worked' (Ashcroft et al., 1989b: 44), deploying on English what Brathwaite calls the 'actual rhythm

and syllables, the very software' of the native language (1984: 30). It intrusively 'relexifies' one's mother tongue, combining English vocabulary with indigenous structures and rhythms (Zabus, 1991: 314). The process therefore decentralizes English, and by admitting 'processes of neologisms, innovation, tropes, and imaginative usage, it allows the English language to become a tool with which a "world" can be textually constructed' (Ashcroft et al., 1989b: 44).

The Caribbean experiments with language are cited as an example of the abrogating process — ranging from the radical deviations of the Rastafarians and the linguistic innovation of Wilson Harris to the more accessible poetry of Derek Walcott. In contrast, English in Southeast Asia has not deviated from the standard in the magnitude which, say, Jamaican English has, but it has evolved enough differences to warrant its own varieties, arguably more obvious in the case of Singapore and Malaysia, less pronounced in the case of the Philippines (Platt et al., 1983). This abrogating process is perhaps most visible when the culturally-loaded expressions jar the flow of the standard form.

In the case of Philippine English, one may reconsider Bautista's study of educated Philippine English, where she mentions common and frequent errors in subject-verb agreement, articles, prepositions, and tenses. What is striking about this study is Bautista's observation that 'errors' are committed because an aspect of English usage contradicts the counterpart usage in the local languages. For instance, she notes that articles are difficult for the Filipino because 'Philippine languages have a different basis for the determiner system, based on whether a noun is in focus or not, rather than on the kind of noun the determiner appears with' (2000: 150); tenses are confusing because 'Philippine languages are characterized as having an aspect system rather than a tense system' (2000: 154). Villareal (1993) cites other peculiarities in the Filipino's use of English. Transliterations result in sentences such as 'I shall only take a cab'. Localized expressions (Filipinisms) such as 'open the light' and terms with localized meaning (e.g. 'abortion' for the American English 'miscarriage', 'hostess' for 'bar girl') are also prevalent. Finally, Filipinos seem to find novelty in using words that have long gone out of fashion, sometimes of seventeenth century vintage, e.g. 'malversation' (Nation, 1994: 22). All these examples suggest that the source of the 'errors' here is often the strong cognitive presence of local languages that prevent the total assimilation of standard English, or that what we tend to assimilate is the old and the quaint. This may be decried as evidence of a terrible lack of proficiency, but is also recuperated by the postcolonial writer as a mark of cultural uniqueness that can be translated into innovation and creative expression.

One of the earliest bilingual writers who attempted to 'disturb' English was Rolando Tinio, whose work was remarkable in its code-switching between English and Filipino in equal measure.

Strangely absolute ang impression
Ng hilera ng mga pintong nagpuprusisyon
Individual identification, parang mummy cases,
De-nameplate, de-numero, de-hometown address.
Antiseptic ang atmosphere, streamlined yet.
Kung hindi catacomb, at least
E filing cabinet.

(Strangely the impression is absolute
Of the rows of doors in a procession
Individual identification, like mummy cases,
With nameplate, with numbers, with hometown address.
The atmosphere is antiseptic, streamlined yet
If not a catacomb, at least
A filing cabinet.)

From 'Valediction sa Hillcrest' (1958; in Lumbera and Lumbera, 1982: 368)

His experiments did not fare well, and his poetic play remained in the realm of the experimental, but in some senses, Tinio was way ahead of his time. He wrote at a time when English was lording it over the literary field and the strict adherence to the canon had not been questioned. Codeswitching was a serious grammatical mistake and was an unconscionable poetic device. Moreover, Tinio's poetry is 'disengaged' and would not be salvaged by a political intent. The perception before was that such poetics were simply a fad or were just finger exercises for the poetically adventurous, and unlike West Indian writers, Philippine authors seemed noticeably more restrained. Tinio broke with this tradition, and though his works are typically described as written 'in English', it might be more accurate to see them as texts 'wrought from English' (Abad, 1993: 18).

The Filipino cultural impingement on English is perhaps felt more in the use of local situations and Filipino words, speaker cadence (as in the excerpt from Joaquin below) and allusions rather than in a definite 'variety' such as those found in, say, Singapore and Malaysia. Filipino English as used by Nick Joaquin is rich in speech cadence, when for example sounds of Spanish reverberate in his 'El Camino Real':

I wear the American uniform who wore the Philippine rayadillo before and much earlier, less incredibly the colors of the Spanish cazador. Yes, there I was, a Madrileño, a young sargeant in my own eyes a neo-conquistador defending the Empire, here in the Orient. Talib (2002) cites some stylistic devices present in postcolonial fiction which may also be found in poetry, including the presentation of speech and the oral influence of non-native languages. In Nick Joaquin's poem, the intrusion of Spanish complicates English because the lines are only half English. Lexically and semantically, the lines are in English, but syntactically and prosodically, the lines are in Spanish.

The sound of the vernacular languages is also strong in Filipino English and even if the construction remains syntactically of the high variety, the turn of phrase and use of particles confer on it the marks of a non-English culture. Azucena Uranza's novel *Bamboo in the Wind* (1990) resonates with Tagalog sounds.

The one who stood nearest him smelled like flowers, the one who said she was going to be a doctor. But the most beautiful was still the *Señorita*. She looked like an *artista*, a movie star, and no wonder, *Señorito* Larry wanted to marry her. [...] 'Hoy,' called *Nang* Pilar from the door, 'get busy with that. Don't be such a turtle ...' 'Caloy,' she called out across the yard where some men were busy setting up a stove for the roast calf, 'send Mayang up here to help prepare the *buko*'. (*Bamboo in the Wind*, 1990: 133)

This excerpt valorizes the oral rendition of English as spoken by characters who are peasants, and these lines impress upon us that the speakers are not thinking in English, and that the English is accidental. The lines are not elegant and the local words remain untranslated. The excerpt above also shows examples of culturally-laden words. *Señorita* and *Señorito* may translate as 'young miss' or 'young master' but in the Philippine context, these are class referents, a carry-over from a feudal past, which convey the servile status of the speaker.

The poem 'Marikudo in Kalibo, 1979' by Dominador Ilio (1979; in Abad, 1993) uses allusion and local words to narrate a historical irony. The indigenous Aetas were banished to the mountains by the Spanish colonizers and their lands taken. Ironically, they are commemorated in present times through the Ati-Atihan, a celebration of their Christianization, so that colonialism and lowland cultures appropriate a cultural ritual, imbue it with Christian/lowland values, and reduce it to a tourist attraction. Thus the poem utters the Ati-Atihan ritual chant of Hala bira, hala bira to the beat of agongs and ringing of bells. The chant, though, takes on a different meaning in the last stanza with the defiant Hala bira, hala bira/Shatter the agong, break the bells/Hala bira, hala bira. Implied here is the Aeta's announcement of his presence, the 'shattering' of his silence as well as the end of his absence. He also recuperates his ritual chant from the clutches of revelers and tourists and molds this into a song of resistance. English makes way for indigenous expressions as it accommodates the Aeta's assertion for inclusion.

The works cited here illustrate the Filipino effort to attune literature in English to native ground. While the localized English assimilates the idiom and cadence of the native tongue, local words and allusions have shifted cultural points of reference from the dafodilled valleys of the West to the barrios and mountains of the Philippines. In all these creative efforts, the process of abrogation begins with the conceptual dismantling of English as a pure (Western) language and the unequivocal, unhesitating exploration and exploitation of its properties to absorb and express the sound and spirit of local cultures.

# Appropriation and Philippine English

Appropriation, abrogation's twin process, leads the abrogating process to its logical end. It claims for postcolonial writers a primacy that standardized English denies them when they execute the differential. The differential then is perceived not as a failure to reach the standard but a capacity to evolve from the standard, thereby creating a language enriched by cultural experiences outside the standard language's norm. Appropriative linguistic measures aim to break the cultural silence of colonized expression by revealing great possibilities and opportunities in validating the colonized culture, and bending the language to suit its needs.

Ashcroft et al. (1989b) enumerate different methods of appropriation. These include glossing, the use of untranslated words, the creation of an 'interlanguage', syntactic fusion, code-switching and vernacular transcription. Glossing, which is the translation or explanation of non-English words, appropriates by establishing non-English words as a cultural sign. Creating a gap between a word and its referent, this in turn signals the presence of difference, so that an ethnographic detail, for example, can shift the structuration of meaning from the center to the margin or the other way around. The use of untranslated words goes one step further, giving full authority to the word while releasing 'language from the myth of cultural authenticity and demonstrating the fundamental importance of situating context in meaning' (Ashcroft et al. 1989b: 66). It is a political act because, whereas glossing translates the word and 'accord[s] the ireceptori culture higher status', the use of untranslated words presupposes a kind of equality between giver and receiver (Ashcroft et al., 1989b: 66). The third method, the creation of an interlanguage, involves the fusion of the linguistic structures of two languages. The term is used to characterize the peculiar utterances of a second language learner, not as deviations or mistakes, but as part of a separate but genuine linguistic system. Amos Tutuola is cited as a prime example of an interlanguage user, where his allegedly 'substandard' English is 'not a striving for competence in a dominant tongue, but a striving toward appropriation, in which cultural distinctiveness could be simultaneously overridden-overwritten' (Ashcroft et al., 1989b: 68). The writer's use of grammatical deviations is not a reflection of their lack of proficiency but is a preference for an interlanguage with which to express their politics. Signs of appropriation can also be found in the syntactic fusion which meshes linguistic structures found in the use of standard words with vernacular rhythm and syntax. To illustrate, Rafael Zulueta da Costa's 1940 poem carries elliptical structures common to Spanish and Tagalog.

Who will decipher Philippine hieroglyph? Who, unravel the intricate formula?

Who, enter the jungle, mount the steep And find the molave proud, knowing no death?

From 'Like the Molave' (1952: 42)

In addition, the construction of neologisms, especially colloquial neologisms, is seen as the use of language in a particular space or time. It embodies the dynamic, ever-changing property of language and proves the impossibility of categorizing its essence in a universal static way. Philippine concoctions, for instance, such as *blue seal*, *home province*, and *sari-sari store* create poetic spaces inaccessible to Western configurations. Code-switching and vernacular transcriptions are also common forms of appropriation, with the first referring to shifts from one language to another, and the second including spellings that follow dialect sounds and double glossing. Pidgin English demonstrates this claims to alterity by signifying insistent difference and tenacity as a medium of communication in the margins.

Even before such methods were articulated by postcolonial critics, appropriation had already begun, and Edwin Thumboo (1978) wrote of the localization of English in Singapore in the 1970s, while Gémino Abad (1989) has traced the same tendencies in Filipino poetry in English. Except for the politicization of the process, localization is basically nothing new. Nationalism, independence, and a newly-found stature give postcolonial countries a cultural self-consciousness which motivates the formation of new perceptions toward literary works in English. Localized English can now be viewed as a product of a writer's desire to leave a mark on a foreign tongue, with the prospect of liberating one's language from the imposition of a standard. This is the fulfillment of the nationalistic desire to decolonize colonial legacies, to manufacture cultural products which may be colonial in structure but local in content and spirit. It is thus a revocation of the labels attached to English, by using it as a source of national empowerment, of establishing difference and freedom from the colonial cultural centers. The awareness of difference and the valorization of this difference make these writers in English more than localizers — they are appropriators.

I would like to use two examples to illustrate the process of appropriation. The first is a poem from Isabela Banzon Mooney:

DH Sunday, Hong Kong

I'm not ashame to be pinoy: my contract's not expire, so pity but I want a little to enjoy.

I not stop working, but unggoy or please they never say to me; well, I'm not ashame to be pinoy.

No play on day-off, no toy with lift that go updown — no sorry too but I want a little to enjoy.

I fix pinoy foods, hot like bachoy, very near to jolibee ... Why I ashame to be pinoy?

Jewelries, pants, you like, 'Noy? Ma'am, you pay? I take your money 'cause I want a little to enjoy.

I also buy — but cheap only, hoy — pasalubong for my family. I'm not ashame to be pinoy, I want so little to enjoy.

(2001:66)

The poem 'DH Sunday, Hong Kong' approximates the speech of a Filipina domestic helper in Hong Kong. Ungrammatical, disjointed, littered with Filipino words, the language comes close to being pidgin, the language of the uneducated. Bautista (1982), in her study of 'yaya English', notes the preponderance of grammatical deviations, and the sometimes almost incomprehensible construction of sentences in the English spoken by Filipino maids.

What are the characteristic features of the English spoken by the yaya? The answer to that question will allow us to glean the features of a kind of English that is a composite of the little English originally learned in a barrio school, the English picked up from the mass media and from an urban setting, and the stock expressions acquired from living with a high or middle income family. These are the features of what can be called the unschooled variety of Philippine English, or the English spoken by the Filipino who is not at home in English. (Bautistia, 1982: 58)

But this is also the language of a community, the grammatical mistakes a badge of belonging, a cultural marker of being a Pinoy domestic overseas ('I'm not ashame to be pinoy'). Rendered grammatically, the persona would lose authenticity and the standardness would grate against linguistic truth.

Banzon utilizes other linguistic devices in the representation of the maid culture. One is transliteration ('I also buy - but cheap only, hoy' corresponding to the Tagalog, 'Bumibili rin ako, pero mumurahin lang'), which anchors this English to the syntax of Philippine languages. Another is the use of Filipinisms, e.g. 'I fix pinoy foods' instead of 'I cook pinoy food'. The poem also appropriates the villanelle and imbues it with Filipino sounds. The Hong Kong presence is seen in the word unggoy, which means 'monkey' in Filipino but in Cantonese expresses 'please', or 'thank you'; 'lift' is British; 'Jolibee' a famous Filipino brand of fast food that is misspelled because it comes from English. All these lend an interesting intertextuality to the lines. Finally, the only phrase in standard English is italicized, reversing the process of othering by making standard English the exception and not the rule. The maid's English is the main language of articulation and is privileged by the poet through this assignation. The poem's linguistic appropriation is in a way a tribute to its speaker, the overseas domestic worker, whose life is chronicled in the poem. She works endlessly but is not even acknowledged by her employers. She sells things on the side to augment a meager income. Her needs are simple, a little respite from tedious work is welcome ('I want a little to enjoy'). She is not demeaned by her circumstances. There is nothing shameful about working to support one's family, which in the poem is conflated with being pinoy ('I'm not ashame to be pinoy'). A Bagong Bayani or 'new hero', the maid and thousands like her keep the Philippine economy alive with their sacrifice and remittances. Her English may be offensive to the learned ear but it is the language present-day heroes use. It is a language one must not be 'ashame' of; it is a badge of courage and of nation.

The second example is Paolo Manalo's *Jolography*, which ups the ante not only by using an English spoken by a social group (the young but poor Pinoy), but also by using English as if it were another language:

O how dead you child are, whose spoiled Sportedness is being fashion showed

Beautifuling as we speak — in Cubao There is that same look: Your Crossing Ibabaw

Your Nepa Cute, Wednesdays Baclaran, 'Please pass. Kindly ride on' Bending the language as far as he can, Manalo uses transliterations to convey expressions impossible to convey in English because his articulators are not at home in English. 'O how dead you child are' is 'Patay kang bata ka', an ominous pronouncement of doom. 'Beautifuling' is nagmanaganda, feeling beautiful. 'Kindly ride on' is 'Sakay lang nang sakay' or go with the flow. The immediate effect of Manalo's poem is shock and incomprehension. The language is English, but it does not make sense. As Kris Lacaba, a fellow poet, describes it, 'Each word by itself looks human enough. But strung together, there seems to be a pair of bolts sticking out of its neck, the head is flat, the skin, green' (Lacaba, 2004). Only when the reader realizes that this is not exactly English will they begin to comprehend and appreciate the dexterous play of words and the incredible intrusion of street language into poetic construction. The appropriation in Jolography reminds one of Gabriel Okara's work, which was described as handling 'English not just as a new language but almost as an extension of his own vernacular' (quoted in Talib, 2002: 151). In fact, the vernacular in the poem is not just Filipino but a variety spoken in the streets, a lower register of Filipino. This has several implications. First, the 'wealthy' veneer of the language is stripped off. Second, the incomprehensibility that ensues removes it from its standard center. Third, the choice of language may exclude many readers, although the poem reaches out to the youth who comprise more than half of the country's population.

Indeed, the term 'jolography' suggests youth culture, as the word is derived from the street word 'jolog', which implies youth. ('There is no such thing as an old jolog', Manalo, 2003: 77). The term also refers to someone who is out of fashion, has bad taste, and is not with it, and may also connote poverty and lack of refinement. Like the maid in the previous poem, the jolog undergoes the vicissitudes of Philippine life, coping with it by buying cheap clothes, pirated sex videos, and Happy Meals, by taking jeepneys, and generally emanating the lifestyle of the lower classes to which he belongs ('smiles the smell of foot stuck between the teeth'). He represents the majority of the Filipino youth, a far cry from the privately educated, standard English speaking, wealthier minority. Transgressively used, the grammar and syntax of English in the poem evoke pedestrian life in the crowded streets; it is the language one hears above the din. Not to know this language is not to know the deprivation behind it, which also means being out of the circle, the circle to which the majority belongs. Jolography presents images that are recognized and experienced by many young people and that construct a personal geography for the Filipino youth. Language thus becomes a cartographic instrument in mapping a youth nation whose common travails create a nationalism of the everyday, wresting the language from its Anglo-American moorings. It uses a Filipino (slang) English neologism that unravels the realities of the young and poor Filipino in an English that has been re-aligned or reinvented for an audience not at home in English. Here, reconstituting

English is nationalizing it; it is so shaped that it finally speaks of and feels like home.

#### Conclusion

The English language can be shaped by its speakers' cultures both linguistically and ideologically. While it might be too presumptuous and counterproductive to speak of an 'alternative essence' because a language constantly evolves, this chapter has argued that a range of Filipino elements in contemporary Philippine English may be considered markers of possession. As I have argued throughout this chapter, this Philippine variety may provide expression for both a nationalist and localized response to the narratives of colonialism and the standardizing force of the colonial language. Whether it is in the standard form or in the form of a variety, it seems evident that English has now been appropriated by Philippine writers as a genuine, guiltless, and creative mode of self-expression.

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#### 278 Lily Rose Tope

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# 'This scene so fair': Filipino English poetry, 1905–2005

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#### Introduction

Our literature in English, like our scholarship, was bred in the university. In less than four months after the mock Battle of Manila Bay on May 1, 1898, the first makeshift American school, run by soldiers as teachers, was set up on Corregidor Island (Zaide, 1956: 285), portentously, the same island where Filipino and American forces made their last stand against the Japanese Imperial Army in 1941–1942. After 1913, English as medium of instruction in our public school system quickly became not simply a chief instrument for the acquisition of new learning, not only a favored medium by which to represent us to ourselves and to the world, but also a principal means to employment, social status, prestige, and power. It can justly be claimed that the University of the Philippines, established in 1908, is the cradle of Philippine letters in English through *The College Folio* (1910–1913) and the UP Writers' Club and its organ, *The Literary Apprentice* (from 1928).

#### Overview: Three dominant strains

We used to talk about the course of Philippine literature in English as though it passed somewhat miraculously through three stages: a period of apprenticeship, of emergence or growth, and then of maturity. In the 1950s, it was a useful if also subtly condescending way of picturing what was called its 'development'. On the other hand, in 1957 Fr. Miguel A. Bernad, S.J., claimed that Philippine literature in whatever language was 'perpetually inchoate' because, first, writers could not earn a living from their writing; second, we were torn by several languages or had not mastered English well enough; and third, we were culturally confused or had not fostered our own hybrid culture sufficiently well. It is worth quoting Fr. Bernad at some length:

Filipino writers in Spanish flourished at the end of the nineteenth century and the first decades of the twentieth. But this flowering of a culture never bore fruit: its roots were soon withered. While Apostol and Guerrero, Bernabe and Balmori, Barcelon and Recto were writing poems that were admired in Spain, a generation of Filipinos was growing up that could not understand the language in which they were written. [ ... ] This is not to deplore the coming of English to our shores. [Its] coming was by no means deplorable: it was a cultural windfall. It does explain, however, why Philippine letters, which had finally flowered (and it is a curious thing that it did not come to its full flowering until after Spanish political domination was over) died out so quickly, even in flower. Philippine letters had to seek other roots in a different cultural soil. That is why even after sixty years of English in the Philippines, Philippine literature in English is still young. But it has much promise: it may eventually attain to full maturity. (Bernad, 1961: 105)

Will the same fate befall English as the previous colonial language now that the Philippine Senate has closed all American bases at Subic and Clark? To this very day English has remained an undeniable route to a better situation in life. Yet with more spirit and effect than in the 1950s, we would forge a literature in a language that we would call 'Filipino', a language evolving from Tagalog as lingua franca while assimilating vocabulary from the other Philippine languages. Indeed, many more young writers today are bilingual because our school system, while it still cultivates English as a second language, has promoted the use of Filipino as a medium of instruction for half a century now. The mass media too have strengthened Filipino as our lingua franca. But if support for scholarship and lexicography, translation work, and the publication of worthwhile textbooks in Filipino are any indication, the political will for a common national language would appear to be less of a fiction only in nationalist rhetoric. Be all that as it may, it might be instructive to reconsider Fr. Bernad's views. He did not touch on our poetry in English in his Bamboo and the Greenwood Tree (1961) because he thought at the time that our most 'developed' literary genre was the short story. But here we shall focus on poetry because, for me at least, it is the root and crown of linguistic usage.

By way of a quick overview, the course of Filipino poetry in English from 1905 to the present may be said to have passed through three transformative phases or dominant *strains*: an inveterate Romantic spirit, from our first published literary attempts in 1905 to the 1940s; then, an enduring formalist or 'New Critical' commitment, from the 1950s to the 1970s; and finally, a kind of open clearing, a poststructuralist or postmodernist temper, from the 1980s to the present. But obviously, a century being too short for a literature (especially the kind of 'high' literature that Fr. Bernad has chiefly in mind), it is at best only convenient to set time boundaries to our poetic course, so that we should insist on the overlap of those phases and the imbrication of those strains. In fact, in our present-day consciousness, shaped no doubt by

our reading of imported theories, we might well regard those convenient labels — Romantic, New Critical, poststructuralist or post-modernist — as ideological constructs inscribed in a particular attitude or stance toward art and reality. Suffice it to say for our purposes that, in its own time and heyday, the Romantic spirit had much to do with a certain sensibility and idiom, so that the generations of Fernando M. Maramág and Nick Joaquin, the 1930s and 1940s, seem to us now to write alike, because they were drawing from a common hoard of Romantic themes and employed a widely accepted kind of poetic diction and imagery. American New Criticism, on the other hand, instilled a new sensibility and idiom which stressed organic unity, emotional restraint, and such devices as metaphor, irony, and ambiguity as sources of poetic power, while the post-structuralist or postmodernist trends have much to do with both a keen, almost tormenting sense of language's duplicity and a nagging consciousness of colonial subjection, a squirming sense of being a subject in someone else's sentence.

# The Romantic spirit: From Fernando M. Maramág to Jose Garcia Villa

From Ponciano Reyes's narrative poem, 'The Flood' (1905), to Jose Garcia Villa's Have Come, Am Here (1942), the creative struggle was with both the new language, American English, and the poet's subject, i.e. the native or 'Filipino matter' that is to be expressed in the adopted language. Indeed, it is remarkable that in our first published poem in English, the poet's quest for the Filipino began with those among us who, without the writer, have no voice and no memory. 'The Flood' presents us with our first image in English of the common tao or laboring classes as boat people — fishers, traders, and nipa hut dwellers on the banks of the Pasig River which flows through the city of Manila.<sup>3</sup> The poem ends with a ghastly spectacle of death and misery after a devastating typhoon:

Before the light of day had shone. The village was to desert turned. No mark of life or places known But corpses washed ashore alone.

Thus, at the very outset, our poetry in English raised the permanent social question of who is responsible for those who have less in life (Abad, 1993: 18–20).

It may be difficult to imagine and express what native or 'Filipino matter', what *humanity as Filipino* we have become — what we have become as individuals and as a people through our colonial experience with Spain and

America and our own democratic experiment, but *that* is precisely the occupation of poetry. For the poet, the language comes alive, be it English or Tagalog, not from the words that are already there and their meanings in daily usage, but from their tillage, the particular uses to which they are put through which our sense of our own reality, in our own historical and cultural scene, is reached. This is why our first important poet in English is Fernando M. Maramág.<sup>4</sup> While the ironic edge of his sonnet, 'Moonlight on Manila Bay' (1912), seems unintended, the fugitive emphasis there on our 'scene so fair' subverts the poem's ostensible praise for 'bold Olympia' (imperial America) because the opening eight verses first establish our scene as paradisal before the poet draws from our history to celebrate yet another conquest of our land:

Not always such the scene: the din of fight Has swelled the murmur of the peaceful air; Here East and West have oft displayed their might; Dark battle clouds have dimmed this scene so fair; Here bold Olympia, one historic night, Presaging freedom, claimed a people's care.

Both language and history are the crucial factors ('makers') in and through which our writers forge in all senses of that word (to form or fashion, to feign or imitate, to advance) the 'Filipino matter' — our mythology or imagination of ourselves. From his own notes to his poem in The College Folio, we know that in 'Cagayano Peasant Songs', Maramág sought to convey their 'spirit and substance thought out in English', and so even Wordsworth, who speaks in the poem's epigraph is only invoked as a favorable witness to the peasant sensibility:

In the shady woods I know Where the bashful jungle fowls are keeping Their helpless young. They are below The trees by which the rill is weeping.

Beneath the rapids' frown Where the white ripples madly run, There is where I have known Fair *itubi* is courted by *lurán*.

And if to me 'twere only known Where the heron's eggs are laid In the deep still river's bed,
They were treasures rare to own.<sup>5</sup>

In our early verses, such as those in our first anthology, Rodolfo Dato's Filipino Poetry (1924), both language and subject were borrowed, almost as

though we had no thought or feeling of our own, so that skylark and nightingale in English Romantic poetry were simply converted into our kuliawan (oriole) and maya (rice bird).6 But it would be quite misleading to speak of a 'literary apprenticeship' because we already had accomplished writers in Spanish, Tagalog, and the other native languages such as Sugbuanon, Hiligaynon, and Iloko. The 'apprenticeship' was linguistic and cultural, but not in the literary or poetic art. To be precise, the inevitable tension which obtained between the creative struggle with the new language and the poet's individual response to this new situation cleared that poetic terrain where the Filipino poet subdued the tutelary spirits of English Romanticism to their own perception of their circumstances and history. And thus, before World War II bloodied our shores in 1941, Filipino Romantic poetry had come into full flower in the poems of Jose Garcia Villa, Luis G. Dato, Angela C. Manalang-Gloria, and Trinidad L. Tarrosa-Subido, even as our poets in Spanish before the Americans came had already transformed both the sensibility and idiom of the Spanish Romantic spirit into our own native clearing. We can see this if we compare Maramág's 'Cagayano Peasant Songs' with Luis G. Dato's rendition of what is probably a Bikol saying, which he called 'Spinster' (ca. 1938):

> The dove, when newly hatched, Has tasty meat and tender; When old, howe'er you stew her, You cannot rend her.

To which Angela Manalang-Gloria might be said to have replied in 'Old Maid Walking on a City Street' (1950):

She had a way of walking through concupiscence And past the graces her fingers never twirled: Because her mind refused the heavy burden, Her broad feet shoveled up the world.

Or again, if we compare Maramág's 'Moonlight on Manila Bay' with Luis G. Dato's 'Malolos' (1939),<sup>7</sup> we can see how our poets' tillage of the new language and its poetic tradition provoked a newfound sense of their own 'scene so fair':

The town is quiet, the houses still, And dark the house of God; The heroes slumber up the hill, And in my heart their blood.

Again I see a gay procession, And men in bright attire; A hundred delegates in session, And soldiers in the mire.

Malolos, once you rent asunder A striding tyrant's heels, A day as this that sees us thunder Down you with iron wheels.

It simply was not the case, as S.P. Lopez and Arturo B. Rotor charged in 1939, that the early Filipino poets in English were Romantic escapists besotted with roses and sunsets. True, romantic love was, as elsewhere at any time, a favorite theme: e.g. Conrado S. Ramirez's 'My Wife's Hands' (1933), Luis Dato's 'Day on the Farm' (1934), or Tarrosa-Subido's 'You Shall Be Free' (1934), which are among the finest love sonnets of the time. But Jose Garcia Villa also first broke the taboo on explicit sex, passion, and homosexuality in our fiction and poetry: e.g. his 'Man-Songs' (1929) and his story, 'Song I Did Not Hear' (1933); the dominant male ideology in Romantic poetry, where woman's idealization serves to keep her subject, is also subverted in Nacing's (pseud.) 'Crisálidas' (1914), Manalang-Gloria's 'Revolt from Hymen' (1940), and such romantic verses by Tarrosa-Subido as

Poor love, you were but Color, Motif, Mood – Need of my poetry, not my womanhood.<sup>10</sup>

Most certainly our poets did not limit themselves to the subject of love. Their engagement with their own cultural and social milieu, already signaled by 'The Flood' in 1905, appears in our early patriotic verses such as Justo Juliano's 'Sursum Corda' (1907)<sup>11</sup> and reaches clear and powerful expression in such poems as Amador T. Daguio's 'Man of Earth' (1932), Conrado B. Rigor's 'America: An Apostrophe' (1938), and Carlos Bulosan's 'If You Want To Know What We Are' (1940). Such engagement also accounts for the poet's liberation from Romantic themes and Romantic diction and imagery, and later serves as a strong antidote against the formalist strictures of New Criticism. If Villa's poetry can be said to have made a clearing in English which showed the poets how, through craft and cunning, a language might be reinvented, <sup>12</sup> Rafael Zulueta y da Costa's *Like the Molave* (1940) again opened poets' sensibility to their own milieu, where language is sharpened by their response to their own historical situation.

Zulueta's *Like the Molave*<sup>13</sup> and Villa's *Poems by Doveglion* (1941) could very well mark the end of the Romantic phase in our poetry. With *Like the Molave*, it became important for poets to reconfigure the Romantic usage in order that they could find their own voice and address more directly their own time. Villa found his own voice in *Have Come*, *Am Here* (1942) and *Volume Two* (1949), but in 1929, he had exiled himself to America; an alienated sensibility, he could

not find in himself any vital connection to Maramág's 'scene so fair'. Then the War came, and the Romantic efflorescence of the 1930s wilted. But the Romantic spirit did not vanish altogether. Villa, who wrote his last poem, 'The Anchored Angel', in 1953, continued to be a strong influence in the craft of poetry well into the 1970s. More importantly, we find in Bienvenido N. Santos' *The Wounded Stag* (1956) and Edith L. Tiempo's *The Tracks of Babylon* (1966) that the Romantic idiom has only been transformed into a new mode of expression by which the poets gave form and substance to their own insights.

### The formalist strain: From Edith L. Tiempo to Cirilo F. Bautista

By the 1950s, we had a modern poetry in full swing. Leonard Casper's Six Filipino Poets (1954), <sup>14</sup> coming two years after Nick Joaquin's Prose and Poems (1952), signaled the advent of the American New Criticism, which focused on the formal perfection of the poem as 'verbal icon'. This critical mode shaped the poetic sensibility from the 1950s well into the very present. The new generation of poets learned from Brooks, Purser, and Warren's Approach to Literature (1936), our introductory college textbook from the 1950s until the early 1980s, and they also imbibed the formalist donnée from the Silliman Writing Program (since 1962) and the UP National Summer Writers Workshop (since 1964). <sup>15</sup> Through his formalist critiques of Philippine literature in English since The Wayward Horizon (1961) and The Wounded Diamond (1964), Leonard Casper also enhanced the New Critical influence. By the mid-1950s, a course on Philippine literature in English was already being offered at the collegiate level.

The historical series of our poetry in English — Man of Earth (1989), A Native Clearing (1993), and A Habit of Shores (1999) — presents those 'transformative phases' in individual poets at various points in time that we spoke of earlier. For example, in Amador T. Daguio<sup>16</sup> you can move from Romantic in 'Day to Night' (1941) –

O beauty in that rift of cloud! O sails Which butterfly the sea! For the soul's sake,

A petal's fall, five stars caught in a tree!

to New Critical in 'Off the Aleutian Islands' (1953) -

I have reaped the sickle edge of rain, Rain harvests that had no grass: In youth I let, instead, lusty mushrooms Discover me. Or you can move from Bienvenido N. Santos's 'Pagan' (1948) in *The Wounded Stag* (1956) -

When my ancient gods are tired of waiting, I shall go, but quietly lest silence
Break in the native woodland and startle
The sleeping flower and the nodding leaf.

My heaven's spent, my spear, hid in the grass.

to his 'Race with Seagulls' (1971) in Distances: In Time (1983) -

Father, at whatever address you now reside spare me the embarrassment of hearing you again.

...
Besides, nobody listens now – I must push on before the seagulls get there ahead of me and leave me nothing more substantial than a bone.

Nothing really can be more persuasive than remarking the individual poet's discovery of his or her own poetic idiom, through whatever strains or influences, as one reads these poems. The way then through the changing poetic terrain since the 1950s is poet to poet because those who persevere in the writing life seem more consistently able to achieve a full individual voice through metamorphosis of their idiom and subject. Each writer's poetic career - Nick Joaquin from Prose and Poems (1952) to Collected Verse (1987); Edith L. Tiempo from The Tracks of Babylon (1966) to The Charmer's Box (1993), Extensions, Beyond (1995), and Marginal Annotations (2001); Cirilo F. Bautista from The Cave (1968) through Charts (1973) and Boneyard Breaking (1992) to Sunlight on Broken Stones (2000) — shows these writers constantly make new discoveries in their own field of vision (their own distinctive subject matter) and transform their mode of expression to conform to them. It would seem then that, whatever the influences in their poetry or the reigning critical theory of their time, the work of imagination is achieved chiefly by the poet's own solitary labor, that is, the long creative struggle to find one's own way through language.17

Nick Joaquin, for example, was not particularly influenced by the American New Critics. Self-educated like Maramág, Oscar de Zuñiga, and Carlos A. Angeles, he must have worked since the early 1930s at the language in his own individual way, as Villa did, for a route to his own subject. His poetic idiom is Romantic in texture yet modern in temper, for while it partakes of the richness and elevation of an earlier time, it is still closer to contemporary usage so as to catch the hum and drum of daily living in his own time and place; e.g. 'Six P.M.' (1937) or 'Mene Tekel & Sic Transit' (1967). Unlike Villa,

though, he remained connected to his country's realities, and drew from a deep historical consciousness and a Hispanic Catholicism interlaced with folk religion; his love too of journalism contributed in no small way to the éclat and sardonic bite of his verses.

As with Joaquin, Amador Daguio, and Edith Tiempo, one would also have to engage with Bienvenido N. Santos's fiction to come to a fuller appreciation of his poetry. The haunted and wounded sensibility that one encounters in Santos' stories in You Lovely People (1955) also finds poetic transfiguration in The Wounded Stag (1956). This collection, consisting of poems in the 1940s and early 1950s, is a poetic landmark. Its transmutation of the Romantic idiom renders with pathos and restraint the condition of the colonial subject, the lowly and the bereft, the victims of war and oppression, and thus lights with new poetic fire the proletarian roughage in Carlos Bulosan's verses and the stale rhetoric in Zulueta's Like the Molave. It is deeply moving to hear the poor river folk address Our Lady in Santos' 'Processional' (1949), and in such poems as 'Come Home, Heroes' (1946) and 'The Gods We Worship Live Next Door' (1947), we find an admirable sensitivity to the nuances of language, a sharpness of imagery and verve of metaphor, and a poignant tension and irony of thought and feeling which, in New Criticism, are the hallmarks of poetry. In The Wounded Stag, more than in Villa's hermetic and narcissistic gems of verse, our poetry in English finds more substantial native ground emerging from the Romantic 'poetry of crepuscule' (Estrada, 1933: 14).

Edith L. Tiempo is our finest poet in the New Critical tradition. She herself acknowledges her spiritual kinship with the great English Romantic poets, but insists that such kinship must be understood 'in terms of the nature of Romanticism itself'. She goes on to say: 'I think that women writers write in this tradition. If a woman is true to herself, she will write as a Romantic. If she turns off her inner promptings, and instead attempts to be purely objective, I think the effect will be artificial because the life springs are not there' (Manlapaz and Evasco, 1996: 62).

Alejandrino G. Hufana's poetry shows a kind of poetic break-up of sense and imagery that seems to augur a breakaway from New Criticism. His own verse introduction to '13 Kalisud' in *Sickle Season* (1959) is exemplary:

Of phosphorescence sing, of giving up to sea The contents of the land, and to hope lest sink (Look to Tutankhamen in his depths, brought to surface The fly-by-night explore), the famed and fameless all Veneer at splash of perching anchor with the keel Deleting sight to starboard, ...

Of wicked calm, of mastery
Of storm, these regimens at sport outside
The log report, and mankind's alleged soul

Finds terra firma in a flotsam, its coffin, where Firmity itself is in a gyre, the pump and pulleys Splintered shatterproof of what has human been, or holy, His prayer man's own painful body, like Laocoon's In oyster gaze upon the verity of air and ground, Narcissus', too, when permanence seeped into his reflection – This truth or fiction no man alive has yet Absolved himself from, that territory in the brain: Complete it, reader — friend, survivor. (Hufana, 1959: 83–4)

'Of phosphorescence ... outside the log report': the language of poetry simply has to be found again, 'brought to surface' and tested 'upon the verity of air and ground'. It is as though, in our obsession with the figures of our speech, we have given up to the sea of rhetoric 'the contents of the land' so that 'mankind's alleged soul / Finds terra firma in a flotsam, its coffin'. This of course may only be a plausible reading from a certain presumption: that the 'New Criticism', in privileging language and rhetoric, has absconded from those 'regimens at sport outside / The log report'. In any case, since Hufana's '13 Kalisud', the articulation of his feeling and thought in language seems to have been so problematized as to make definite expression virtually impossible; but the fact that he keeps revising and adding new *kalisud* is proof enough of the struggle to find a new language.<sup>18</sup>

# The open clearing: Poetry from the 1980s to the present

It was simply inevitable that, with facility in the language and mastery of poetic form, new ways would be found of *forging* the work called poem, 'forging' because the poem is both a way of seeing anew our own objective reality and a way with a given natural language by which that reality is endowed with form and meaningfulness. It was as though the poets needed to free themselves from 'New Criticism', not of course from the discipline of craftsmanship that it stresses, but from its obsession with rhetoric, its figures (irony, paradox, ambiguity) and its ideology of the poem as autonomous. Emmanuel Torres, in his *Anthology of Poems 1965/1974* (1975), already detects among younger poets, even as early as the mid-1960s, 'a language and rhythm more relaxed, more conversational ... a literary English closer idiomatically to the way educated Filipinos speak it' (Torres, 1975: 12). A good example is Alfrredo Navarro Salanga's 'A Philippine History Lesson' (1983):

It's a history that moves us away from what we are We call it names assign it origins and blame the might

That made Spain right and America — bite.

This is what it amounts to: we've been bitten off, excised from the rind of things

what once gave us pulp has been chewed off and pitted — dry. (Abad et al., 1983: 18)

By the 1970s, too, as an effect of the political activism in the mid-1960s and the Martial Law regime (1972–1986), it was again a matter of urgency for poets to connect with social reality even while they recognized the requirement of formal excellence. We see this move clearly in the poems of Salanga and Gelacio Y. Guillermo, which highlights the fact that since Ponciano Reyes in 1905, our poets in English (as well as in indigenous languages) have always stood upon their own native ground. In the 1980s, our writers began to be aware of new critical theories which seem to have affected their poetry: the structuralists who fostered an extreme type of formalism and the poststructuralists who ravished the voids of language. Yet our poets are generally not academics, even if a number find their home and livelihood in universities. It would be closer to the truth to say that, as poets working the language (like farmers working the soil), they make their own discoveries about poetry that the academic critic later relates to some theoretical aspect of literary criticism.<sup>19</sup>

Our poetry from the 1980s to the present is marked by a heightened consciousness of language in the way it creates its own reality, together with a deep sense of the poem as artifice or a kind of double forgery — a forgery from language, which itself is already a fiction or counterfeit of reality, and a forgery in one's own consciousness from the reality outside language. In this context, the poet Alfred A. Yuson has commented that:

Gone are the days when a generation can produce a singular, distinctive voice ... such as a T. S. Eliot ... or a Jose Garcia Villa. All manner of experimentation appears to have been tried, and, though not necessarily found wanting, has of late given way to the consistent projection of a personal voice whose treatment of experience and insight is couched in either hard-edged or tender understatement. Perhaps it is a reaction to the generic aggressiveness of other forms of self-expression. These days the successful poet eschews the grandiloquent pronouncements in the manner of a Walt Whitman, the

provocative speechifying of an Alan Ginsberg, or the politicized rhetoric of a Yevtushenko. The quiet image, the ironic engagement, the subtle verbal gesture have come to the forefront as favored contemporary devices for lyric or cerebral identification. (Yuson, 1991: 31)

One other remarkable thing about our poetry today is the number of women poets who re-create their sensibility, carving from language a reality that is truer to their 'inner promptings', as Edith Tiempo says. In *Man of Earth*, among the 80 poets writing from 1905 to the mid-1950s, there are only six women poets; in *A Native Clearing*, of the 49 poets born between 1919 and 1941 (two decades), only five are women; but in *A Habit of Shores*, of the 96 poets born between 1942 and 1976 (more than three decades), thirty are women!<sup>20</sup> There was nothing deliberate on the editor's part about 'gender distribution'; it simply turned out so as the editor chose the poems that, in addition to their artistic merit, seemed to him to speak to the Filipino in their own historical and cultural milieu.

# Conclusion: Our own 'scene so fair'

In our cultivation of a poetic terrain which was subtly transformed by more than three centuries of Spanish rule, and tilled again in our fascination with 'democratic vistas' in the English language, the course of poetry has involved a long and creative struggle with both the poet's medium and the poet's subject. English had to be naturalized, as it were, and become Filipino nothing short of a national language. We ourselves had to inhabit the new language; our own way of looking, our own thinking and feeling in our own historical circumstances, had to become the sinews and nerves of that language. At first, indeed, we wrote in English, and freely borrowed and adopted, and then, we wrought from English, and forged ourselves and our own 'scene so fair' where we worked out our own destiny. It was the same creative struggle with Spanish except that in our politics and education, we lost the will to preserve that heritage. But since the time at least of LaSolidaridad (1889) and Jose Rizal, when we began to imagine ourselves as a people, Inang Bayan (Mother Country) has become the Filipino writer's first Muse.

We can return, by way of concluding, to Fr. Bernad's comments in 1957 on Philippine literature as 'perpetually inchoate'. If we follow through his line of argument, there has been a vigorous effort to forge a national literature in Tagalog-Filipino since the political activism of the 1960s. As Emmanuel Torres, himself an eminent poet in English, urged in 1975, '[t]he poet writing in English ... may not be completely aware that to do so is to exclude himself from certain subjects, ideas, values, and modes of thinking and feeling in many

segments of the national life that are better expressed — in fact, in most cases, can only be expressed — in the vernacular' (Torres, 1975: 13). Of course, I cannot more heartily disagree with this. If anything at all must be expressed — must, because it is somehow crucial that not a single spore or filament of thought or feeling be lost — then one must also struggle with one's language, be that indigenous or adopted, so that the script can, as it were, shine in the essential dark of language. Otherwise, the vernacular, by its own etymology, is condemned to remain the same 'slave born in his master's house'.<sup>21</sup>

The three problems with literature that exercised Fr. Bernad have persisted as problems that every writer confronts rather than as causes. Writers, especially poets, still cannot earn a living from writing, but they are alive and well, and many more have perversely persevered than in the generation of Maramág or Joaquin. As to the linguistic problem, our writers' mastery of their medium can readily be assumed. It is now not simply a matter of personal choice, whether one can write in English or in a Philippine language, for indeed the trend among our young writers today is toward bilingualism. Some may even be said to be writing in the space between English and a Philippine language. The poet Simeon Dumdum, for instance, seems to clear a path between English and Sugbuanon, much like Hufana before him, whose poems in English stalk, as it were, modes of expression in Iloko. Nevertheless, whether the poet's medium is English or some native language, it would still be the poet's task to reinvent the language. A poem is not given by language; rather, the writer must achieve a mastery of the way of looking and thinking that inheres in the language, for such a sense for language empowers the imagination for those 'twistings or turnings of sense and reference of words and utterances' by which any thought or feeling, stance or attitude, is endowed with form and meaningfulness (Hollander, 1988: 1).

It may be that the most serious problem is still cultural, but it cannot be a cause for the inchoateness of literature, in whatever language - unless, of course, our education deteriorates. Yet, a major aspect of that cultural problem is the erosion of reading competence (in whatever language) among young people today, owing chiefly (in my opinion) to the many audio-visual forms and voids of entertainment that have seriously diminished their sense for language. The reading public for our literature in English and in other Philippine languages has always been small, mostly limited to those who have had a college education; such patronage has suffered too from the globalization of the book trade and the stiff competition from other forms of leisure and sources of pleasure. Most of our writers in English come from the middle class and are college graduates. As a consequence, generally speaking, our fiction and poetry in English since the 1950s has dealt with the life of the urban upper and middle classes. Since Philippine life to the present has been essentially rural, it seems incumbent upon our writers that their imagination encompass provincial life and the countryside, the very heartland of our own 'scene so fair'.

But, whatever the case, the fact remains that poets must liberate themselves constantly from both their language and their subject: that is to say, they must both constantly rediscover their language and constantly see anew their world.<sup>22</sup>

#### Notes

- 1. The College Folio, Aug. 1912. The Folio, a quarterly patterned after The University of Chicago Magazine, was published by students of the University of the Philippines. Its maiden 'Editorial' states 'our aim [is] to act as pioneers in ... the adoption of the English language as the official tongue of the islands ... [because of the] diversity of dialects and the imperfection of all of them ... unless we Filipinos mean to be cut off from the world of thought and action' (Oct. 1910, 1). Maramág was its last editor. In February 1912, the Folio again took up 'The Question of Languages' (130-1): 'Being the first native paper to advocate English as the official and the national language of the Philippines, we were termed anti-nationalistic and even anti-patriotic ... In our opinion, the question as to which should be the national language ... is no longer a pending one: it was decided, not by the American flag ... [nor] the law that makes English the official language after 1913, but by the Filipinos themselves when in the very beginning they showed their admiration and their support of the present system of education, in which English is not only taught but is also made the medium of acquiring knowledge. The constant demand for new public schools, the ever-growing enthusiasm for education, the 600,000 Filipino children attending public schools, are great and conclusive proofs of the Filipinos' preference for English'. It is a curious irony of history that the same university also became a cradle of Filipino nationalism.
- 2. See also his 'Philippine Literature: A Twofold Renaissance', 1961, rev. 1963, in *Tradition and Discontinuity: Essays on Philippine History and Culture* (1983), where he says: 'The chief fact in Philippine literature up to the present is precisely this: it is an inchoate literature in many languages' (5); and 'there is not as yet a significant body of Filipino poetry in English' (23).
- 3. 'The Flood' was published in the first issue of *The Filipino Students' Magazine*, April 1905, 14-5. The following and apparently the last issue, June 1905, published two more poems: Maria G. Romero's 'Our Reasons in [sic] Study', a poem on service to one's people (11), and Rafael Dimayuga's 'Forget Me Not', a love poem (35). This magazine was published in Berkeley, California, by Filipino *pensionados* (scholars of the American colonial government). Ponciano Reyes was editor of the magazine's English section, and Jaime Araneta, its Spanish section. It sought 'to encourage in our fellow countrymen the study of literature and knowledge in the different branches ... [but] since we do not believe ourselves competent ... we will leave politics aside'. Yet, significantly, its first issue was dedicated to Theodore Roosevelt, 'President of our United States', with his full-page photo.
- 4. All poems referred to in this essay are to be found, unless otherwise indicated, in the three-volume historical anthology of Filipino poetry in English, the first volume edited by Abad and Manlapaz, and the last two, by Abad: Man of Earth (1989), A Native Clearing (1993), and A Habit of Shores (1999). Incidentally, 'Olympia' in Maramág's sonnet is Commodore George Dewey's flagship in that mock battle on Manila Bay to save Spanish honor.

- 5. The epigraph from Wordsworth runs:
  - And grossly that man errs who should suppose That the green valleys, and the streams and rocks, Were things indifferent to the shepherd's thoughts.
  - In both *The College Folio* (Aug. 1912: 1) and Dato (1924: 25–6), the poem carries the poet's notes on *itubí* as 'fresh water fish with ash-white scales' and *lurán* as 'fresh water fish larger than *itubí* scales are yellowish ash-white'.
- 6. Rodolfo Dato, a graduate in political science from the University of the Philippines and brother of the poet, Luis G. Dato, speaks in his 'Introduction' to Filipino Poetry of 'Filipino-English' verse: 'the maiden songs of our native bards warbling in borrowed language'. There are three other anthologies of our poets in English in the 1930s and 1940s: Pablo Laslo's curious English-German Anthology of Filipino Poets (1934) and Manuel A. Viray's Heart of the Island (1947) and Philippine Poetry Annual 1947–1949 (1950). Among our early poets in English are M. de Gracia Concepcion, Natividad Marquez (pseud., Ana Maria Chavez), Procopio L. Solidum, Cornelio F. Faigao, Virgilio F. Floresca, A. E. Litiatco, Conrado V. Pedroche, Maximo Ramos, Celestino M. Vega, Guillermo V. Sison, Fidel de Castro (not of Cuba), Aurelio S. Alvero, N. V. M. Gonzalez, and Franciso Arcellana.
- 7. The poem's historical backdrop is important: In the morning of September 15, 1898, the Philippine Revolutionary Congress convened at the basilica of Barasoain in Malolos. On September 29, the Congress ratified the proclamation on June 12, 1898 of Philippine independence at Cavite del Viejo (Kawit). Then the Congress passed the Malolos Constitution, which General Emilio Aguinaldo promulgated on January 21, 1899.
- 8. See our first lively critical debate on literary issues in *Literature under the Commonwealth*, ed. by Manuel E. Arguilla et al. (1973); also, S. P. Lopez, *Literature and Society* (1940), our first Marxist literary tract.
- 9. 'Man-Songs', for which Villa was fined by the courts for obscenity and suspended for one year from the College of Law in the University of the Philippines, was first published in *The Philippines Herald*, May 26, June 2 and 9, 1929, under the pseudonym, O. Sevilla. See, for example, his 'Song of Ripeness' (1929) in Abad and Manlapaz (1989: 150). For the story, see Villa's *Footnote to Youth: Tales of the Philippines and Others* (1933: 245–61). Villa's last 'Man-Song', later called 'Testament' (1939: 191), may be read as a portrait of the Filipino poet in English in the 1930s: 'I have not yet sung as I want to sing ... I write songs to put the house of my mind in order. In my mind there are many growths and lives that entangle each other ... A song is a knot untied. I have many knots to untie. As I untie them I become a poet whose hands are trembling'.
- 'Crisalidas' is in Dato (1924: 35), and those verses quoted from Tarrosa-Subido are from her poem 'Love Is My Need', in Subido and Tarrosa Subido (1945: 17).
- 11. This long poetic diatribe against 'that mighty Eagle', America, may be found in Olega (undated: 96–9). Justo Juliano is our first poet in English who was, figuratively speaking, hanged not for his verses but for his politics. His poem contravened the Sedition Law passed by the US Congress at the time, which also prohibited the public display of the Philippine flag. Refusing to retract his slingshot against the American avis de rapiña, he was, says Olega, 'forced to resign as a government teacher'; afterwards, he 'attended university at Chicago' where to support himself he taught Spanish. A double irony that he should have banished

himself to the Eagle's roost and earned his keep from the language of Mother Spain. Significantly, three decades later, Juliano's fate would befall another poet. When *Like the Molave and Other Poems* came out in 1952, R. Zulueta da Costa was asked to resign from his teaching post at De La Salle, run at the time by American Brothers, because his 'barbaric yawp' à la Whitman bluntly declares:

Philippines, you are not a sucker.

Philippines, you are the molave child, questioning, wondering, perplexed, hurt;

•••

The mathematical certainty endures:

Philippines minus (Spain plus America) equals MOLAVE.

12. Inspired by e. e. cummings, Villa achieved a breakthrough by way of an individual poetic idiom to his own distinctive subject — a kind of dialectic between the I-Genius, God, and Death, an aesthete's private 'theology,of,rose,and,tiger,' (This phrase is from Villa's 'comma poem' in 1948 called 'When,I,was,no, bigger,than, a,huge'.) He rejected not only the Romantic and Victorian models in poetry but even the standard usage of English grammar and syntax, as in 'Poems for an Unhumble One' (in *The Philippines Free Press*, June 17, 1933: 21–2):

There was no end how young.

I could not say it because there.

And how never yet seen for peace.

But it was there and bright like dark.

I touched it not, for love.

- 13. This social critique in verse à la Whitman won the highest award for poetry in English in the Commonwealth Literary Contests in 1940, the first national literary competition which was in three languages (English, Spanish, and Tagalog).
- 14. Of Casper's six, three Dominador I. Ilio, Edith L. Tiempo, and Ricaredo Demetillo are graduates of the University of Iowa Writing Program; the other three are Amador T. Daguio, who obtained his MA in English as a Fulbright scholar at Stanford University; Oscar de Zuñiga, a self-educated newspaperman who was greatly influenced by the Latin American poets; and Carlos A. Angeles, also self-schooled, whose reading of Conrad Aiken and Dylan Thomas deepened his intimacy with poetry.
- 15. Edilberto K. and Edith L. Tiempo established the Silliman National Writers Workshop for young Filipino writers in English upon their return from the University of Iowa to Silliman University in Dumaguete City in 1962. Two years later, the Department of English at the University of the Philippines in Diliman, Quezon City, established its own national writers workshop. In their critiques of the young writers' manuscripts, both workshops follow basically the critical procedure of the American New Criticism.
- 16. Daguio's poetic aim is worth noting: he writes, he says, 'from the suffering and miseries of my lonely and repressed boyhood ... and the struggles of poor people around me. ... Most of all, I wish to translate the beauty, immensity, and depth of the Filipino soul'. To translate: i.e. to ferry across the words of a given natural language the human event, thought, and feeling which to one's mind have not yet found their aptest expression (the quotation from Daguio comes from an interview with the poet by Nielo (1955)).

- 17. Among our poets over the period 1950 to the 1970s (but a number continue to write to the present) are Manuel A. Viray, Leonidas V. Benesa, Hilario S. Francia, Jr., Emmanuel Torres, Bienvenido Lumbera, Rolando S. Tinio, E. San Juan, Jr., Alfredo O. Cuenca, Jose M. Lansang, Jr., Jose Ma. Sison, Jolico Cuadra, Federico Licsi Espino, Artemio Tadena, and Rene Estella Amper. Among women poets are Virginia R. Moreno, Gloria A. Garchitorena Goloy, Tita Lacambra Ayala, and Ophelia Alcantara Dimalanta.
- 18. 'I had to write *kalisud* thanks to the Visayan term for sad feelings that I found ready for use. [Ay, kalisud, literally, 'Oh, how difficult', is a popular Bisaya love song.] But how might I use the word? Just adopt the *kalisud* folksong? Like so, but it had also to be made attractive to the chance listener like Odysseus. ... I wasn't interested in the escape of Odysseus but in the song itself, how it ever passed the listening along the edge how, indeed, did the siren song do that?' (From Hufana's letter to G. H. Abad, June 8, 1992)
- 19. Among our poets from the period 1970 to the present are Luis Cabalquinto, Cesar Ruiz Aquino, Alfred A. Yuson, Jaime An Lim, Luis H. Francia, Edgardo B. Maranan, Anthony L. Tan, Simeon Dumdum, Jr., Ricardo M. de Ungria, Marne L. Kilates, Ramon C. Sunico, Eric T. Gamalinda, J. Eugene Gloria, Juaniyo Y. Arcellana, Danton Remoto, Jose Wendell P. Capili, D.M. Reyes, Jim Pascual Agustin, J. Neil C. Garcia, Ruel S. De Vera, Ramil Digal Gulle, Lourd Ernest de Veyra, John Labella, and Paolo Manalo.
- 20. Among women poets from the period 1970 to the present are Myrna Peña Reyes, Merlie M. Alunan, Marra PL. Lanot, Elsa Martinez Coscolluela, Rowena Tiempo Torrevillas, Marjorie M. Evasco, Isabela Banzon, Grace R. Monte de Ramos, Merlinda C. Bobis, Ma. Fatima V. Lim-Wilson, Ma. Luisa B. Aguilar-Cariño (now, Luisa Igloria), Isabelita Orlina Reyes, Dinah T. Roma, and Conchitina R. Cruz.
- 21. It is well worth noting what Manuel L. Quezon, known as the father of Tagalog-based 'Pilipino' as the national language, said to the Philippine Writers' League in 1940: 'We must have a national language. It is not because we cannot give expression to our emotions in a foreign language. That is nonsense. ... Time and again I have heard Tagalog writers say, 'Oh, we can only express the Filipino soul through one of our dialects!' Nonsense, I repeat. ... Language has no nationality. It is nationality that gives the name to the language when it adopts it' (Arguilla et al., 1973: 8). One might well add that a national language is not created by law, it is created by writers, because writing gives it a particular form and a tradition.
  - S. P. Lopez, assessing 'The Future of Filipino Literature in English', writes: 'There is nothing in the Filipino soul that cannot be transmitted through the medium of English and which, when transmitted, will not retain its peculiar Filipino color and aroma [...] If the first test of literature is the test of continued growth and development, then it may safely be said that no literature written in any other language in this country can pass this test as successfully as English' (Lopez, 1940: 240, 243).
- 22. [From the Editors] One poet whose considerable contribution is discreetly underplayed if not obscured in this contribution is the author of this chapter himself. Gémino H. Abad is widely regarded as one of the very best Filipino poets of the contemporary era.

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# The Philippine short story in English: An overview

Cristina Pantoja Hidalgo

#### Introduction

Any account of the development of the Philippine short story in English has to begin with the fact that it is in *English*. In short, Philippine literature in English is tied up with the experience of colonialism, an essential truth that all serious Filipino writers in English must address at some point in their careers. National Artist for Literature Francisco Arcellana, describing the 'period of emergence' of literature in English, wrote:

There is something uncommon in the not enviable situation of the Filipino writer in English and this is the insuperable problem of language. The life from which he draws substance is lived in a language different from the language he uses. He is therefore twice removed: by the language and by the work of art. (1967: 607)

Writing of his own early work, N. V. M. Gonzalez, Arcellana's contemporary and also a National Artist for Literature, went over the same ground.

The life I described quite literally spoke a different language — and became a different life. Rendered in an alien tongue, that life attained the distinction of a translation even before it had been made into a representation of reality, and then even before becoming a reality of its own. (1995b: 62)

The passage is from 'Kalutang: A Filipino in the world' (Gonzalez, 1995a). This is the narrative of the writer's odyssey — from the small, southern harbor town in Romblon, to Manila, the capital city, where he worked as a journalist and teacher, to Hayward State College, where he was finally appointed Professor and director of the Creative Writing Program, back to the Philippines to receive an honorary PhD and the title International Writer-in-Residence from the University of the Philippines (UP), and to be named National Artist for

Literature by the government. It is a parable of the life of the successful writer of his generation.

Jose Garcia Villa was to do his contemporaries one better by flying to New York City (in 1929 or 1930), settling there, and being praised by no less than Edith Sitwell. Carlos Bulosan was to make the same journey at about the same time, but on 'a ship jammed with steerage passengers bound for Seattle' (Feria, 1991: 182). There was no sophisticated literary coterie to welcome him. He took on menial jobs and slept on park benches, became an alcoholic and fell seriously ill, but the Pacific War made the Philippines interesting to Americans, and The Laughter of My Father, a short story collection, was published in 1944 to critical acclaim. As Gonzalez put it, 'the City's abundant dreams had begun to find an embodiment' (1995b: 67). But there was a price to pay. Borrowing from Frantz Fanon, he described that price as no less than 'a definite restructuring of the self and of the world', dictated by American editors, teachers, and critics, final arbiters of taste, a restructuring that isolated the Filipino writer in English from most of his countrymen. Realizing that the language he had chosen severely limited the size of his audience, Gonzalez decided to write his third novel, The Bamboo Dancers, in Tagalog, despite the lack of a good Tagalog dictionary. However, his friends, themselves editors of Tagalog magazines, discouraged him from persevering in this direction; writing in Tagalog was writing for the masses, and therefore 'lowbrow'. Only writing in English was respected by the Americanized elite.

So Gonzalez returned to English and wrote in that language the rest of his life, as did many of his contemporaries, and as do many writers today. Why do we do it? Perhaps for the same reasons that convinced N. V. M. Gonzalez and his generation of Filipino writers in English: because they learned to write in it and therefore worked best in it; because there were more opportunities for publication open to the writer in English, including the possibility of becoming part of the larger body of world literature; and because there is a rich tradition of English literature, a body of critical theory, authoritative dictionaries, academic courses, etc. As Lumbera and Lumbera have amply demonstrated in *Philippine Literature: A History and Anthology* (2000), the history of Philippine literature is inextricable from the history of the country itself, which is a history of repeated colonization.<sup>2</sup>

# The Hispanic period (1565–1897)

In his pioneering study of the novel in the Philippines, Origins and Rise of the Filipino Novel (1983), Resil Mojares has demonstrated that fiction in the Philippines has its roots deep in native soil. There is a tradition of local narratives — oral epics, ballads, tales — to which were later added other narrative types introduced by the Spaniards, including the metrical romances

and lives of saints. Fiction in the Philippines developed by combining elements from these different traditions.

Spain's intrusion resulted in the decline of the oral folk epics. The Catholic religious orders monopolized printing presses; thus early written literature was entirely religious in content. The Spaniards also introduced the metrical romance, which locally became the awit and the corrido. Along with the pasyon (the life of Christ sung or chanted like a folk epic as part of Lenten rituals), whose plots were transmitted or dramatized in the carillo (shadowgraph) and the komedya or moro moro<sup>3</sup> (Mojares, 1983), the metrical romances became an integral part of the local imagination. Prose, chiefly lives of saints and manuals of conduct, dates from the nineteenth century. The high point in the intellectual history of this period was the Propaganda Movement (1862–1896), to which belonged many of the men who were later to become the heroes of the Philippine Revolution. Ironically, most of this writing was in Spanish, and the essay was the preferred form. Influenced by the modern spirit of scientific inquiry, writers turned away from romanticism and focused on empirical experience, historical realities, political problems. Jose Rizal's celebrated novels, Noli Me Tangere (1887) and El Filibusterismo (1891), both written in Spanish, are the first examples of realist fiction produced by a Filipino, and are clearly the work of a man steeped in both his native traditional literature as well as European literatures in several languages.4

As the nineteenth century drew to a close, and it became obvious that the Spain-based Propaganda Movement's campaign for reforms would not succeed, Filipino intellectuals turned to the radical revolutionary movement at home, the *Katipunan*, and to the Tagalog language. The Philippine Revolution had a brief moment of triumph with the proclamation of independence by General Emilio Aguinaldo, but Spain ceded the Philippines to the US in the Treaty of Paris in 1898, and the Americans entered Manila in the guise of liberators to stay as conquerors. After the Philippine-American War (1899–1902) 'our people had to take willy-nilly to an American public school system in which English became the medium of instruction' (Gonzalez, 1953: 321–2).

# The American period (1898–1945)

The University of the Philippines was founded by the American colonizers in 1908, to educate young Filipinos to become the new English-speaking intelligentsia. It was with this new elite (who came from a broader sector of society than the nineteenth century *ilustrados*)<sup>5</sup> that Philippine writing in English had its beginnings (Lumbera and Lumbera, 2000: 95).

The novel in Tagalog had flourished during the last part of the nineteenth century. Spanish was on the decline and English had not yet been fully established. In terms of narrative technique, the Tagalog sentimental novels, descendants of the romances of the earlier centuries, are a regression from the standard set by Rizal. Most novelists did not have Rizal's education or exposure to European literature, and most of their work was written for serialization in popular periodicals. Hence the split between 'high' and 'low' literature, and the evolution of the concept of the *bakya*<sup>6</sup> crowd, as opposed to the cultural elite. This cultural alienation was to have far-reaching effects. As Mojares says: 'The vernacular literatures dropped down the cultural scale, and almost away from the view of the new urban-oriented, university-educated generation' (1983: 266).

There seems to be general agreement among critics that it was in the field of the short story that Filipino writers in English excelled. Many have remarked on the speed with which Filipinos took to the genre, which was born only around fifteen years before the outbreak of the Pacific War. Writing in 1941, literary scholar Leopoldo Yabes referred to its 'remarkable, almost phenomenal growth' (1975: xix). The maiden issue of the University of the Philippines' first literary journal, the College Folio (1910), with three short stories, contained contributions that Yabes dismissed as 'tales of love about legendary persons', adding that they 'ignored the actual Philippine scene or perhaps were not yet aware of the rich material it could offer' (xxi). In his opinion, the early short story writer in English, 'because he had no local tradition to follow ... drew upon Western patterns' (xxiii). But perhaps, while he was indeed drawing from Western models for the form and technique of the short story, the Filipino fictionist was relying on the native narrative traditions for his subject matter, which would explain the choice of 'the remote past' as material for his tales. By the 1920s, English was firmly established, both as a medium of education and literary expression. Magazines like Philippine Magazine (1904-1941) and the Philippines Free Press (1908-1972), and organizations like the UP Writers' Club (founded in 1927 and still in existence today) attracted the most gifted literary men and women. These developments reinforced what Mojares called 'the fragmentation of the audience' (1983: 349), hampering the technical development of writing in the native languages, and alienating the writers in English from the popular culture.

By 1933, Jose Garcia Villa's collection of stories *Footnote to Youth* had earned from the American critic Edmond O'Brien the comment that Villa was 'among the half-dozen short story writers in America who count' (cited in Arcellana, 1967: 610). Villa also undertook an annual collection of what he considered the best Filipino short stories in English, a project he was to sustain until 1940. The project played an important role in determining the way in which the short story in English was to develop. As Arcellana put it: 'More than any other single activity of the decade, this yearly chore of Villa shaped the Filipino short story in English of the 1930s, helped define it, gave it direction' (1967: 609). A representative collection of short stories published from 1925 to 1955 is

contained in Leopoldo Yabes' *Philippine Short Stories* (1975). The first volume, covering 1925–1940, contains 66 stories by 31 writers. Eight of the writers included were to eventually publish collections of their own: Jose Garcia Villa (1906–1997), Arturo Rotor (1907–1988), Bienvenido Santos (1911–1995), Manuel Arguilla (1910–1944), N. V. M. Gonzalez (1915–1999), Estrella Alfon (1917–1983), Nick Joaquin (1917–2004) and Francisco Arcellana (1916–2002). Many decades after the country had gained its independence, Villa, Gonzalez, Joaquin, and Arcellana were to be named National Artists by the Philippine Government. Included in this anthology are several women: Paz Marquez Benitez (1894–1983), Paz Latorena (1927–1943), Loreto Paras Sulit (1908–?), Estrella Alfon, Lydia C. Villanueva (1913–1969), and Ligaya Victorio-Reyes (1914–2001).

From the very beginning, Filipino fictionists in English were aware of the need to sound different from their American and British models. Arguilla's work is often cited for having most effectively used English to express a thoroughly Filipino experience and sensibility. The editor-publisher of the Philippine Magazine, A.V.H. Hartendorp, said that Arguilla used English 'as if it were a Philippine dialect — so adequately does he find it for his purpose'. Yabes himself regarded Arguilla as 'perhaps the only really authentic voice' (1975: xxxiii). And Arcellana was to write two decades later: 'I don't believe that more beautiful writing has ever been achieved by any other Filipino. It is writing so lucid and luminous, that is, so clear and so radiant. His language is English and yet it is Filipino (1967: 614). Arguilla is best known for his stories set in the countryside, stories that have about them the luminous quality of the Amorsolo landscape,8 although he later turned from these bucolic scenes to focus on the city's slums. The rural stories are not to the taste of today's young readers; his city fiction fares better. In Arcellana's judgment, however, 'the genius of the 1930s' was N. V. M. Gonzalez. Referring to the stories in the first collection, Seven Hills Away (1947), Arcellana writes: 'They are written in a prose of astonishing suggestiveness and epic simplicity. The country is Mindoro and the people are the settlers of Mindoro ... his postage stamp of native soil' (1967: 616–7).

During the period immediately before World War II — a period of unrest in the Philippine countryside — Filipino writers in English came under the influence of American 'proletarian literature'. The 'literary dictator' Jose Garcia Villa, who espoused a poetics of 'art for art's sake', was now challenged by younger writers, who had found an alternative critical framework — socially committed literature — in Salvador P. Lopez's collection of essays, *Literature and Society* (1940). When Nick Joaquin published the story 'Three Generations' (1940) in the *Herald Midweek Magazine*, it was obvious that a new era had begun for Filipino writing in English. Joaquin's dazzling use of the English language and mastery of narrative technique was to eclipse anything achieved by his contemporaries.

## The post-war period (1946-1960)

A few years before the outbreak of the war in the Pacific, the government established the Commonwealth Literary Awards, which gave literature a tremendous boost. But the elation was short lived. In 1941, the Japanese bombed Pearl Harbor, and shortly after, invaded the Philippines. The Japanese made Niponggo compulsory in Philippine schools and forbade the use of English. Only the Tagalog literary magazine Liwayway was allowed to continue publishing. Five years later, with the country in ruins, the US decided to 'grant' the promised independence, and the Philippines became a republic. However, the American influence on Philippine culture remained strong, not only because several treaties ensured economic ties with the former colonial power, but because of a cultural program, popularly known as the Fulbright Program, which granted scholarships, fellowships, etc. and brought practically every important artist and scholar to the US.

The two-volume sequel to Yabes' first anthology was published in 1981. In his critical introduction, Yabes noted some new developments: the greater frankness with which sex was beginning to be handled, the inclusion of ethnic and cultural minorities as subject matter, <sup>10</sup> and the increase in the number of stories set in foreign lands (xv-xxx). Another new trend was the deviation from the conventional realist mode, as in Francisco Arcellana's stories, <sup>11</sup> and in Nick Joaquin's tales, which seem to anticipate marvelous realism long before the Latin Americans were being taught in Philippine classrooms, like 'The Legend of a Dying Wanton'. Among the new writers included in the second Yabes anthology were some who were to gain prominence in the succeeding decades: Edilberto Tiempo, Edith Tiempo (National Artist for Literature in 2000), F. Sionil Jose (National Artist in 2001), Kerima Polotan, Lina Espina, Carlos Bulosan, Stevan Javellana, Aida R. Rivera, D. Paulo Dizon, Gregorio Brillantes, and Gilda Cordero Fernando.

In response to Edilberto Tiempo's complaint about the lack of critical evaluation of Philippine short stories, T. D. Agcaoili published *Philippine Writing* (1953), a new anthology of Philippine literature, with critical essays by Edith Tiempo, Edilberto Tiempo, N. V. M. Gonzalez, and Manuel Viray. Edith Tiempo's essay is interesting in that it consists of a close reading of all the stories in the collection, in the manner of New Criticism, which she and her husband, newly returned from the University of Iowa, were introducing into Philippine academe. She observed that 'in the short story when we define structure we really set down the rules for writing a successful story', and went on to describe the 'successful story' as 'organic', and as conveying a 'universal truth or experience', using Kerima Polotan's 'The Virgin' as an example. In the same book, Gonzalez, for his part, mentioned general trends — the gap between the writers in English and the writers in Filipino, conflicting demands between earning a decent living and producing literature which would satisfy

standards learned from the West. He also reiterated the idea that history has determined the direction our literature was taking (Agcaoili, 1953: 227–8). An important development in the literary scene at this time was the establishment of a short story writing contest by the *Philippines Free Press* magazine in 1949, and of the Carlos Palanca Memorial Literary Awards in 1950. These awards — still ongoing today — are undoubtedly a source of both encouragement and honor for writers.

## The contemporary period (1960–2005)

In 1960, the government instituted the Republic Cultural Heritage Awards, 'to initiate a movement for greater and more dedicated efforts in cultural advancement to complement the country's program of economic development', and the first recipient was N. V. M. Gonzalez for the novel *The Bamboo Dancers* (1959). This was the forerunner of the present National Artist Awards.

Two anthologies published in the early sixties give us a good idea of the scene a decade after Agcaoili's book. In his introduction to the PEN Anthology of Short Stories 1962, editor Arcellana noted that it was 'the consensus (in PEN) that the Filipino short story in English is the most impressive in achievement'. In explaining his choices, he cited 'People in the War' by Gilda Cordero Fernando as 'the finest Filipino short story to come out of the war'; 'Tomorrow is a Downhill Place' by Erwin Castillo as 'one of several stories by young hands which show the young Filipino short story writer's preoccupation with Filipino history'; 'In the Smithy of My Soul' by Cesar Aquino as 'a fine example of the new wave in Filipino fiction'; and the other stories as the best examples of the work of their authors (Arcellana, 1962: v). This last story, an extravagant, lyrical, rather dense reflection or meditation, might strike the reader today as rather self-indulgent. So would Wilfredo Sanchez's 'Moon under My Feet' and 'Rice Wine' by Wilfredo Nolledo. Perhaps the one quality that the younger writers in this anthology had in common is their impressionistic, self-conscious manipulation of language.

Equinox 1: An Anthology of New Writing from the Philippines, edited and published three years later by F. Sionil Jose, included more new names, like Jose V. Ayala, G. Burce Bunao, Lilia Pablo Amansec, and Norma Miraflor. In his Introduction, Andres Cristobal Cruz pointed out that these writers are 'pervasively subjective', and attributed this to the fact that they were writing in a borrowed language. 'Commitment seems to be to art first, and to life, second' (Cruz, 1965: 7). The debate between Villa and Lopez<sup>13</sup> had obviously not been settled, and would continue to rage. The problem of a lack of audience for Philippine writing in English was also becoming increasingly obvious. In Modern Philippine Short Stories, the American critic Leonard Casper

commented that 'to write honestly about his people', the Filipino writer in English apparently 'must risk not writing for them' (1962: xvii). At the same time, as Gonzalez noted ironically, he was indeed gaining some recognition elsewhere. He cited Donald Keene's response to the Casper anthology:

Whatever course Philippine literature may take, we are certainly fortunate that there are now Filipinos who can speak to us beautifully in our own language, without risking the terrible hazards of translation. ... The collection as a whole is of even more importance than the individual excellences. It is an admirable testimony to the emergence of another important branch of English literature. (cited in Gonzalez, 1995a: 27)14

This was also a period of maturity for many of the older writers, like Nick Joaquin, Kerima Polotan, Bienvenido Santos, F. Sionil Jose, and Linda Ty Casper, who were now producing novels.

During the 1960s, the quality of the stories published in the Philippines Free Press and the Graphic Magazine reached new heights. The former, in particular, had a powerhouse staff consisting of some of the most gifted writers in English: Joaquin, Polotan, Brillantes, Nolledo, and Jose Lacaba, Jr., and published stories by both major and emerging writers. And in 1969, the Graphic, which had the brilliant young Ninotchka Rosca for literary editor, established its own literary awards. N. V. M. Gonzalez thought it was encouraging that universities were beginning to offer graduate courses in Philippine Literature and that writers were beginning to define recognition as more than just being published abroad (1967: 540). On the other hand, he echoed Edilberto Tiempo in deploring the failure of criticism in the country, 'the inability of Philippine criticism to establish its own premises' (1967: 543). At about the same time, Joseph Galdon, in his introduction to Philippine Fiction, a collection of critical essays from the journal Philippine Studies, 15 identified the recurring themes in Philippine fiction in English as: the search for identity, both personal and cultural; the struggle to distinguish between illusion and reality; and alienation or the failure to communicate (1972: xi–xvii).16

In the late sixties, the country entered a period of political turbulence. Student Power had erupted in campuses all over the world, partly fuelled by widespread protest against the Vietnam war; and Filipino students were rallying to a radical nationalist movement, which sought to end the stranglehold of 'imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucrat capitalism' on Philippine society. This unrest was to culminate in the declaration of martial law by President Ferdinand Marcos in 1972. The effect of this political unrest on literature was to politicize writers. Taking their cue from Mao Zedong's 'Talks at the Yenan Forum', from Jean Paul Sartre's concept of the writer as <code>engagé</code>, and from the works of the Filipino historian Renato Constantino, many of them shed the subjective, precious, mannered style of the earlier decade, and the predilection

for purely personal concerns, like the search for identity or romantic love or the preoccupation with the absurdity of life. These were now considered decadent and reactionary. Some writers even gave up writing in English altogether. Among the socially engaged fiction writers were Ninotchka Rosca, Luis Teodoro, Amadis Ma. Guerrero, and Rosario Garcellano. Other fictionists of the period were Lilia Pablo Amansec, Renato Madrid, Resil Mojares, Antonio Enriquez, Alfred Yuson, Erwin Castillo, Cristina Pantoja Hidalgo, and Rowena Tiempo-Torrevillas. On the whole, it was a period of intellectual ferment. The Marcos dictatorship, which ended in 1986, was a long, dry period for literature. The media came under tight control. Literary publishing was nipped in the bud. Nonetheless, some writers continued to publish. The Carlos Palanca Memorial Awards for Literature were awarded each year. And in 1973, the Marcos government issued Proclamation No. 1144, providing special awards in recognition of 'artistic and literary accomplishment at its highest level, and ... to elevate creative expression in all its forms to its rightful status as the vanguard of the country's spiritual development'. Jose Garcia Villa was the first National Artist for Literature.

Focus Philippines, a magazine owned by Juan Tuvera and Kerima Polotan, widely known to be Marcos cronies, began publication in 1972, and continued publishing fiction throughout the martial law period. It also offered literary awards. But most writers took a while to be reconciled to the Marcos regime, and some resisted till the end. As Richard Croghan observed:

This magazine has become one of the main outlets for new writers. But so far, the results have not been impressive. Many modern writers are choosing topics from an earlier period and subjects that are trivial. They are escaping from both the present and the future. ... In general, the writers seem afraid to truly express themselves. There is an absence of new creative artists. (Croghan, 1975: 250)

Croghan's book contains many texts never before included in anthologies, among them the stories of Ricardo Patalinjug, Luis V. Teodoro, Jr., and Amadis Ma. Guerrero. Croghan also took note of a National Seminar on Bilingual Education at the Ateneo de Manila University in 1974, during which a consensus emerged that Filipino would increasingly become the medium of instruction in Philippine schools. 'This means that the quality of English will change. [...] Perhaps in future years, the writers will use a language that is really Englipino or Pilipinish. It appears that the future of Philippine Literature in English is uncertain' (Croghan, 1975: 250). His conclusion is interesting: 'Whatever the future may bring ... in this Modern Period of Philippine Literature in English, the literary style and content have become more Filipino than ever before' (1975: 251). Philippine literature had been well served by resistance to Marcos. Oppression had forced Filipino writers to take a hard look, not just at the dictator, but at their own role as writers and to confront,

not just their attitude toward the dictator, but their beliefs regarding their role as writers in a society like Marcos' so-called 'New Society'.

The assassination in 1983 of the opposition leader Benigno Aquino set in motion a tide of indignation that finally brought Marcos down, in what has come to be known as 'People Power'. With the restoration of democracy under President Corazon Aquino, literature enjoyed an unprecedented flowering. New magazines and newspapers were set up and new publishing houses welcomed manuscripts from both established and new writers.

#### The present scene

One of the most striking things about the literary scene today is that, despite the fact that the audience for literature has not grown much (1,000 is the average print run for a short story collection), and despite the fact that writers still cannot expect to earn their living solely by writing fiction or poetry, 18 the tribe appears to be increasing rather than diminishing. This includes writers in English, which, as a language, has lost considerable ground, the level of English-language proficiency in the country having steadily deteriorated.

Where the short story is concerned, we might note that some of the 'old guard' are still writing. F. Sionil Jose (1924–) and Linda Ty Casper (1931–) are as prolific as ever. Aida Rivera Ford (1926–) published a collection of old and new stories in 1998. Among the writers in their sixties, Renato Madrid, Jaime An Lim, Joy Dayrit, Antonio Enriquez, Alfred Yuson, Susan Lara, and Cristina Pantoja Hidalgo continue to publish fiction. There are also writers in their fifties and forties who came to fiction later than their contemporaries and are just hitting their stride, like Gémino H. Abad, Carlos Aureus, Antonio Hidalgo, and Carlos Cortes. Other writers in their forties and fifties, like Jose Y. Dalisay, Jr. and Charlson Ong, are at the peak of their powers. And then there is a whole slew of writers in their thirties, and even in their twenties, who have burst into the scene and are lighting it up. A few of them have already published individual collections and regularly win prizes for their work, including Lakambini Sitoy, Clinton Palanca, Luis Katigbak, Jessica Zafra, Katrina Tuvera and Angelo Lacuesta.

This youngest generation of fictionists is producing stories which range in style, from the conventional 'well-made stories' of Romina Gonzalez ('Elevator', 2003) to the postmodernism of Maria Elena Paterno ('Song in the wind', 1992), from the social realism of Menchu Sarmiento ('Good intentions 101', 2001) to the gothic lyricism of Clinton Palanca ('The magician', 1996), from the quiet little initiation stories of Cyan Abad-Jugo ('Sweet summer', 2004) to the raw violence of Marivi Soliven Blanco ('Penitence', 1999), from the sexual explicitness of Lara Saguisag ('Fever', 1997) to the cerebral games played by Luis Katigbak ('Document', 2000), from the minimalist pieces of

Tara F.T. Sering ('Wonder', 2003) to the complex meditations of Vicente Grovon III ('Minda and me', 2004). These writers recognize no taboos, writing with ease about incest, prostitution, child abuse, abortion, euthanasia, ethnicity, gender, globalization, but also, of course, about the old subjects — love, death, courage, betrayal, guilt, forgiveness, expiation. Their works bear the effects, not only of a wide range of influences (Borges, Llosa, Calvino, Rushdie, Kincaid, Roy, Kundera, Okri, Saleh, Byatt, Coetzee, Winterson, Barth, etc.), but also of MTV, the Internet, international cinema, sci-fi, animé, cellular phones, laptops, EDSA 1, 2, and 3, whole communities living on top of mountains of garbage, graft and corruption on a scale unimagined and unimaginable by their grandparents, drugs, AIDS, international terrorism, and the possibility that the whole world could be blown up with the push of a button, or be fried to a crisp by the depletion of the ozone layer, or be totally obliterated by collision with a meteor. The UP Creative Writing Institute's annual anthologies (begun in 1995 and continued until 2002) contain the best poems and short stories published of those years, written by writers belonging to different generations.

One may ask what accounts for this bumper crop of writers? Certainly a contributing factor is the recognition given by academe to Creative Writing as a distinct discipline. The first creative writing workshop, founded in 1962 by Edilberto and Edith Tiempo at Silliman University, was patterned after the workshops held by the University of Iowa. The University of the Philippines followed suit with the UP National Writers' Workshop in 1965. Both workshops are still the most prestigious of the workshops held today.<sup>20</sup> They are highly competitive, and are regarded by young writers as a necessary part of their apprenticeship. The UP pioneered in establishing a Creative Writing Program, offering both graduate and undergraduate degrees. De La Salle University, Ateneo de Manila University, the University of Santo Tomas, and other universities eventually followed suit. For a long time, Likhaan: the UP Creative Writing Institute, established in 1979, was the only one of its kind in the country. Today, there are three others: the Bienvenido N. Santos Creative Writing Center at De La Salle, the University of Santo Tomas Center for Creative Writing and Studies, and the Ignatian Institute of Literary Arts and Practices at the Ateneo.

Academe has been involved in literature since the establishment of the University of the Philippines early in the twentieth century. But the formalization of this connection through creative writing programs, workshops, centers, etc. has increased its prestige, with major universities competing to get prominent writers into their faculties. In the Philippines, the stereotype of the writer as a bespectacled academic in a business suit or a *polo barong* is at least as valid as that of the writer as a scruffy bohemian.<sup>21</sup> Publishers — the pioneering New Day,<sup>22</sup> the now-defunct Kalikasan,<sup>23</sup> Anvil, Milflores, Bookmark, and Giraffe — have done their share to make literature an attractive

occupation. Even the university presses — with the UP Press taking the lead — now carry literary titles as a matter of course, which was not true even as late as the seventies. Media practitioners, who are graduates from the same universities that produce the creative writers, and who themselves may be poets or short story writers whenever they can steal the time for it, cooperate by giving high profile media coverage to literary events, like book launchings, poetry readings, literature conferences, and literary awards.

Mention should also be made of Filipino writers who live overseas. Unlike the second generation of expatriate writers24 (Villa, Bulosan, Santos), many among them have made their name abroad by writing, not about the immigrant experience, but about the mother country.25 To mention only the fictionists, there are Ninotchka Rosca, Jessica Hagedorn, Cecilia Manguera-Brainard, Bino Realuyo, Marianne Villanueva, Michele Skinner, Evelina Galang, Eric Gamalinda, Gina Apostol, Mar Puatu, Brian Ascalon Roley, and Rowena Tiempo-Torrevillas in the US; Arlene Chai, Merlinda Bobis, and Cesar Aguila in Australia; Norma Miraflor and Nadine Sarreal in Singapore; Reine Arcache Melvin in Paris. This diaspora is an aspect of the Philippine reality which cannot be ignored. However, its effects on writing in English in the Philippines have not yet been measured. Many — like Brainard, Villanueva, Gamalinda, Miraflor, and Bobis, who were born and raised in the Philippines - continue to publish in this country, even as they struggle to make it into the mainstream in the countries they have adopted. And several Filipino writers born abroad visit the Philippines regularly and even spend some time teaching in local universities or doing research for their writing projects. Another trend is, of course, the growing importance of the Internet. Access to cyberspace has made possible the forging of stronger ties between Filipino writers all over the world. Filipino writers based in other countries are in personal contact through email with Filipino writers living in the Philippines, and contribute to Internet magazines hosted by local institutions, and vice versa. Again the effects of this on Philippine literature in English are difficult to determine at this point. One possible negative effect is that it could alienate Philippine writing in English even farther from Philippine writing in Filipino and the other Philippine languages, as it is the writer in English who is likely to be most drawn to the Internet, and the new literacies of electronic communication.

#### Conclusion

If we now consider the prospects for the future, one central question is: in what language will the fiction of the future be written? In his introduction to a special literary issue of *Philippine Studies* in 1995, poet and critic Emmanuel Torres had this to say about the language issue:

The language question — to write in English or Filipino? — which so preoccupied nationalists in the sixties/seventies, has been superseded by a pragmatic attitude. ... The key to literary survival and development appears to be proficiency in both Filipino and English, something taken for granted these days. ... They write in whichever language serves the given literary material better with the confidence of those familiar with more than one language and one culture. Bilingual proficiency among today's better-known young writers is commonly seen as an advantage. (Torres, 1995: 286)

These thoughts were largely echoed by Jose Y. Dalisay, Jr., who noted that 'young writers today use English unapologetically, refusing to be burdened by colonial guilt; quite a number of them write bilingually. Indeed, we are witnessing the continuing de-Americanization of English, its appropriation by Filipino writers for Filipino subjects and purposes' (2002: 145).

My guess is that some writers will continue to write in English, and Philippine literature in English will continue to enjoy the prestige it does today, simply because English will remain the language of power as long as the US remains the world's sole superpower. As we have seen, the desire to gain admission into world literature was a powerful motivation to keep writing in English, long before the economic policy of globalization. It is not likely to go away now. However, more and more writers will become bilingual, simply because Filipino is now truly a national language, the one language in which Filipinos in each of the country's 7,107 islands can communicate.

I think that there will also be serious attempts to expand the audience for literature. With popular culture becoming a legitimate area for study in universities, and the government itself giving recognition to such artists as Levi Celerio (a composer of numerous popular songs in Filipino) by naming him a National Artist, the binary of bakya vs. literati is blurring. No artist today looks down on the Eraserheads or the Parokya ni Edgar, who have become cult figures among young Filipinos;26 or on the late film directors Lino Brocka and Ishmael Bernal, who, though they certainly churned out potboiler films, gained international acclaim for their 'art films'. (Both were posthumously named National Artists for Film.) How will fiction writers gain access to the audiences that Celerio and the late Lino Brocka have had access to? Perhaps by making their works more accessible to these audiences. The most obvious way to do this would be to write in Filipino. But not all writers in Filipino have a large following. The print run of a collection of short stories in Filipino is no larger than that of its counterpart in English. On the other hand, the essay collections of Jessica Zafra, columnist of the newspaper Today and television talk show host, sell very well, and Zafra writes only in English. Recently, Milflores Publishing has been bringing out collections of humorous essays — some by well-known writers like Dalisay and some by virtual unknowns — which have done much better than fiction or poetry collections. The magazine Cosmopolitan Philippines enjoys a circulation of around 65,000 and is in English. (Even more astonishing, its audience is not mainly from the higher income class, but from what is referred to as C-D, lower-middle and lower income classes.)<sup>27</sup> The *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, the country's leading newspaper in English, has a circulation of around 220,000, certainly higher than that of any newspaper in Filipino.<sup>28</sup> So the problem does not seem to be that there are not enough readers in English, but that there are not enough readers of literature in English.

There are those who have actually claimed that a small audience has its advantages — freedom, for example. Since very few writers in English are dependent on their writing for a living, the claim goes, they are free to write in any way they please, free to be as outrageous, as innovative, as daring as they choose to be.<sup>29</sup> So the short story in English is constantly growing, changing, transforming, keeping up with developments all over the world. But its failure may lie in its very sophistication. I would say that most writers in English — as in any other language — would, given the chance, prefer to be read by hundreds of thousands, rather than by just a couple of thousand. In which case they might consider adjusting their art to accommodate the expectations and preferences of their countrymen who do read in English, without, of course, sacrificing all standards and pandering to the lowest common denominator. If some composers and film directors have done it, if Cosmo and the Philippine Daily Inquirer have done it, why can't the short story writers do this as well? 'Solitude is not our lot!' N. V. M. Gonzalez declared as he accepted the Doctor of Humane Letters, honoris causa from the University of the Philippines (1993: 103). Indeed, it need not be.

#### Notes

- Tagalog, the language of Manila and surrounding regions (now called the National Capital Region), is the basis of Filipino, the official national language of the Philippines.
- 2. 'The organizing principle behind the contents of Philippine Literature: A History and Anthology is an interpretation of literary development in the Philippines as an alternation of assertion and acquiescence by the Filipino creative imagination within a culture fostered by our people's interaction with two different sets of colonial masters.' (Lumbera and Lumbera, 2000: vii)
- The komedya borrowed its plots from medieval Spanish ballads about knights in shining armor and their adventures, but transformed these into battles between Christian soldiers and Moslem rebels in the Philippines.
- Jose Rizal, the country's national hero, was executed by the Spanish colonial government.
- The term ilustrado refers to the native elite, many of them mestizo Spanish or mestizo Chinese.
- Bakya refers to wooden clogs, which in the popular imagination are associated with lower income groups.

- 7. Jose Garcia Villa received the award in 1973; Nick Joaquin, in 1976; Francisco Arcellana, in 1990; and N. V. M. Gonzalez, in 1997.
- 8. Fernando Amorsolo (1892–1972) was trained in the Royal Academy of San Fernando in Spain; however, he differed from his predecessors in the way that he used light to create landscapes and portraits which had a distinctly 'Filipino' look and flavor. Amorsolo was also named National Artist by the Philippine government in 1972.
- 9. The first recipient for fiction was Arguilla's collection, How My Brother Leon Brought Home a Wife and Other Stories (1940).
- 10. This has led Yabes to observe that 'the Filipino short story in English is more truly national than the Filipino short story in the native Philippine languages and in Spanish. In other words, it presents a more truly comprehensive picture of the life and culture of the Filipino people in its varied aspects' (Yabes 1981: xxiv).
- 11. In fact, Arcellana was a bold experimenter from the start. Consider 'Trilogy of the Turtles' (Arcellana, 1990: 26–32). This may be why Yabes was skeptical about his worth as a writer: 'I have not yet been able to determine to which group Arcellana belongs. He may really be a genius, as Villa has pronounced; but he may also be a mediocrity or merely a skilled craftsman' (1981:xxxiii).
- 12. In 1951, Juan Gatbonton's 'Clay' won the first prize for both the Palanca and the *Free Press* Awards.
- 13. The debate referred to is the art-for-art's sake view of Jose Garcia Villa vs. the art-for-society view represented by S.P. Lopez. See the American Period, above.
- 14. Casper himself produced a sequel to his earlier anthology New Writing from the Philippines (1966).
- 15. Philippine Studies is published by the Ateneo de Manila University.
- 16. Gonzalez and Galdon are really in agreement here. Galdon's personal and cultural identity theme is part of what Gonzalez referred to as 'The Barrio and the City' and 'Hope of the Fatherland'. And Galdon's illusion vs. reality theme is what Gonzalez meant by 'Now and at the Hour'.
- 17. Some writers suspected of either belonging to or being sympathetic to the radical left were arrested and imprisoned for months or even years without charges ever being brought against them. These included fictionists Luis V. Teodoro, Ninotchka Rosca, Jose Y. Dalisay, Jr.
- 18. The magazines (*The Philippines Free Press* and *The Philippine Graphic*) pay around P1000 for a short story (less than \$20). The glossies (*Metro, Mega, Preview*) pay slightly more P1500 to P2000 (less than \$40), but they carry feature articles and essays, not short stories. Most writers in whatever language have regular jobs in academe, media, advertising, the staff of politicians, and write fiction and poetry 'on the side'. This includes even the highest paid writers today, namely film scriptwriters.
- 19. Enriquez, Yuson, Madrid, and Hidalgo have also been publishing novels.
- 20. The University of Santo Tomas, the Ateneo de Manila University, De La Salle University in Manila, and the Iligan Institute of Technology of the Mindanao State University now hold their own yearly workshops.
- 21. The barong Tagalog is the national costume worn by Filipino men. It is used for all occasions, and may be long-sleeved or short-sleeved (the polo barong), covered with hand embroidery or not, made of very expensive and very delicate pineapple fiber or serviceable cotton.

- 22. Until the eighties, New Day was the most important and consistent publisher of literary titles.
- 23. Kalikasan Press was owned and managed by a poet who was also a Professor of Physics at the UP, Godofredo Calleja. He published both established and emergent writers in limited editions.
- 24. The first generation would be the members of the Propaganda Movement in Spain referred to earlier.
- 25. The Filipino-American critic Oscar Campomanes has suggested that this is a 'strategy for making themselves "visible" in a country which has in effect erased' them from its history, a means of coping with their exile which is different from that taken by the first generation of expatriate. He refers to the systematic erasure from official history of the US of the colonial project in the Philippines (1995: 159–92).
- 26. The Eraserheads and *Parokya ni Edgar* are rock bands, formerly students of the University of the Philippines, who enjoy a large popular following.
- Personal interview, Tara FT Sering, Managing Editor, Cosmopolitan, Philippines, July 2001.
- Personal interview, Letty Jimenez Magsanoc, Editor-in-Chief, Philippine Daily Inquirer, July 2002.
- 29. 'Here ... is ironically where our freedom lies: divested of commercial considerations and restraints, and never having had a real market to satisfy, the Filipino writer in English has been relatively free to boldly and blithely go where almost no one else will bother going' (Dalisay, 1998: 252).

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# The Filipino novel in English

Caroline S. Hau

#### Introduction

As a field of literary practice, the Filipino novel in English is constructed out of a series of paradoxes. Created out of the solitary act of writing and consumed through the solitary act of mute reading, the novel is nevertheless fundamentally premised on accessibility to a wider public and for this reason appears the most communal of all literary writings. Most of its practitioners belong to the middle classes, yet it seeks to speak not just of and for these classes, but for and to the Filipino 'people'. The novel is the preeminent genre through which society speaks and conceives of itself, but its concern with 'imagining it whole' is routinely couched in the form and language of individual 'lived experience' (Culler, 1975: 189). It is European in provenance yet charged with the task of conveying a specifically 'Filipino' content. The most influential Filipino novel was not written in English, and neither was it written in a Philippine language. The novel is a commodity, yet it often insists that it obeys no laws other than its own, purely internal ones. Finally, despite its stated importance for the nation, the Filipino novel is largely unread by the majority of Filipinos. Filipino novelists in English write within a multilingual setting defined by the historical experience of colonization, the political projects of nation- and state-building, the pragmatic dictates of an increasingly commodified and globalized everyday life, the enduring loyalties commanded by group ties at the sub- and supra-national levels, and the problematic nature of the novel itself as a form of literary expression.

This chapter examines the social, ideological, and linguistic contexts within which the Filipino novel in English takes shape. A contested terrain that is fraught with tension, anxiety, and ambivalence, the novel in English works through the difficult legacies and imperatives of colonial, nationalist, and capitalist modernity in the Philippines, and is implicated in the mechanics of nation, state, class, and subject formation without being completely reducible to them. The first section of this chapter looks at the novel as a literary institution by examining the social conditions of its production, circulation, and reception. The second section tackles the ideological tenets underpinning the relationship between the novel and the nation. The final section addresses the question of English and its fraught position in the Philippine setting and concludes with a discussion of the potentials and limits of the novel.

# The novel as literary institution

If the most fundamental feature of the novel is its 'essential dependence on the book' (Benjamin, 1968: 87), its development can only be bound up with the creation of a literate public with the leisure, inclination, and income to read, write, and buy novels. The integration of colonial Philippines into the world market in the nineteenth century led to the expansion of colonial-state capacity, increased urbanization, the spread of literacy and the development of print culture, and the creation of a small class of planters, professionals, and intellectuals, the latter consisting of young men from relatively affluent or influential families which could afford to send their sons to Europe for higher education (Schumacher, 1997: 1). The foremost representative of this class of ilustrados (literally, 'enlightened'), the 'national hero' Jose Rizal, wrote his two landmark novels Noli Me Tangere (1887) and El Filibusterismo (1891) in Spanish.1 But it is a sign of how inaccessible Spanish has become to presentday Filipinos that these masterpieces are now read only in translation. Efforts to teach Spanish were hampered by lack of funds, by the paucity of teachers, the absence of an organized system of primary education, and the scarcity of teaching materials (Alzona, 1932: 22-3). The conservative estimate, based on the 1870 census, is that only two to three percent of the population spoke Spanish near the end of Spanish colonial rule (Blair and Robertson, Vol. 7, 1907: 299-303).

The career of English as an official language and medium of instruction differed in the degree of relative success of its dissemination and its entrenchment in state policies and the public imagination. US President William McKinley instructed the fact-finding Philippine Commission to 'regard as of first importance the extension of a system of primary education which shall be free for all, and which shall ... fit the people for the duties of citizenship' (McKinley, 1901: xxxiv–xl). While education was the cornerstone of American colonial rule and crucial to colonial-state building (especially the creation of state agencies staffed by civil servants), it was accomplished 'on the cheap' (Golay, 1997: 112), with already limited financial resources being allocated disproportionately to urban centers and municipalities at the expense of schools in the outlying villages (121–2). The uneven spread and quality of

educational benefits in the colony lent the Philippine educational system an elitist character, with no more than thirty-five percent of the population of school age attending primary school and an even smaller minority completing the primary grades (122; see also May, 1980).

By the tail end of the American period, according to the 1939 Census, 26.6% claimed the ability to speak English, while Tagalog was spoken by 25.4% of the population, Cebuano by 16.9%, Hiligaynon 14.1%, and Waray 19.1% (cited in Gonzalez, 1980: 62–3). In other words, more people spoke English in twenty years than spoke Spanish in three centuries (Bureau of Education, 1921: 19). But while these statistics are suggestive of the relative preeminence of English over the Philippine languages, they also underscore the fact that no single language, not even English, was spoken by a clear majority of the Filipino people. Indeed, writing in the Philippine languages, especially in Tagalog, flourished during the early decades of American colonial rule and far surpassed the novelistic output in English (Reyes, 1982; Mojares, 1983).

Sixty years later, statistics appear to offer a more optimistic picture of the English-language situation: nationwide, 73% of Filipinos claim the ability to read English, 74% understand spoken English, while 56% can speak and 42% think in English (cited in Thompson, 2003: 73). Filipinos belonging to the higher socio-economic classes exhibit greater use of and facility in English. However, nationwide, only 18% of Filipinos claimed full ability in English, even though among those in the 17-24 age group 77% could read, 68% write, 82% understand, 63% speak, and 54% think in English. The uneven spread of English is skewed in favor of the young, urban, middle and upper classes (74). Concomitantly, the postwar years witnessed the spread of a Manila-based Tagalog lingua franca through the mass media, through massive migration to the capital and outside the country, and through the bilingual policy of educational instruction adopted in 1974. By 1970, 56.2% of the 35,830,379 total population spoke Tagalog, up from 39.4% of 18,024,365 in 1948 (Gonzalez, 1980: 103). There is also an increasing trend toward the use of Taglish, a form of code-switching between English and Filipino, especially in the urban areas among young people from the upper-middle to lower-middle classes (Thompson, 2003). But despite a national literacy rate of more than 80%, the failure of bilingual education is evident in the fact that, in the elementary schoolroom, reading and writing rarely touch on context or meaning, and little comprehension exists beyond surface meaning since none of the languages is acquired well enough to be used in either a conventional or a scholarly context (Adler, 1997: 252-5). In fact, the current state of bilingual education arguably hampers students from acquiring linguistic competency in English, even as it leaves the potential of the Philippine languages as media of instruction underdeveloped.

# The reading public and institutional support

The general perception is that Filipinos are not book readers, and experts decry the highly limited audience for literature in general (Gonzalez, 1988: 36). Writes fictionist Charlson Ong (2001): 'A novel in English that sells a thousand copies in three or four years, itself a rarity, is deemed a best-seller by Philippine standards. This fact continues to militate against the writing of novels and larger works'. Considering the paucity of readership, what then accounts for the fact that Filipino novels in English continue to be written?

One reason for this is state support, as the Philippine state has regularly encouraged the writing of the Philippine novel by sponsoring literary contests as part of its own nation-building mandate to promote culture and the arts. Two novels, Juan C. Laya's *His Native Soil* (1941) and N. V. M. Gonzalez's *The Winds of April* (1941), received the Commonwealth Literary Awards for First Prize and Honorable Mention on the eve of the Pacific war. N. V. M. Gonzalez was also the recipient of the first Republic Cultural Heritage Award in 1960 and the Pro-Patria Award in 1961. Since 1973, successive Philippine governments have conferred the status of National Artist on such Englishlanguage novelists as Nick Joaquin (1976), N. V. M. Gonzalez (1997), Edith L. Tiempo (1999), and F. Sionil Jose (2001). In commemoration of the centenary of the Philippine Revolution in 1998, the Fidel Ramos administration awarded prizes to novels by Eric Gamalinda, Charlson Ong, Alfred Yuson, and Azucena Grajo Uranza.

A second reason is the role played by private, non-profit, and educational institutions both inside and outside the country in encouraging literary activity. In the Philippines, the Carlos M. Palanca Memorial Awards began accepting submissions in the novel category in 1980. Filipino writers have also been recipients of various study and writing grants, and a great number work as journalists, editors, columnists, speechwriters, and freelance writers. Nick Joaquin, for example, describes the history of The Woman Who Had Two Navels (1961) thus: 'I finished the first part, chapter one, very fast in Hong Kong. Then I got this Rockefeller grant and I went to Spain. After my year in Spain I spent a year in New York. Part of the last part of the novel was written in New York. And then I got a Harper's grant to go to Mexico where I stayed almost a year and the novel was finished' (Bresnahan, 1990: 64). Edith Tiempo's A Blade of Fern was first serialized in This Week Magazine in 1956 before being revised and submitted as a PhD dissertation at the University of Denver and published as a book in Hong Kong and in the Philippines (Valeros and Gruenberg, 1987: 213). Emigdio Alvarez Enriquez worked on The Devil Flower at the Yaddo artists' community in New York and the workshop at the University of Iowa, completed the novel on a six-month fellowship at the Huntington Hartford Foundation, and published it in the US in 1959 (92). Kerima Polotan's The Hand of the Enemy (1962), part of which first appeared as a Palanca-prize-winning story, won the 1961 Stonehill-Philippine PEN Award. The third and by far the most crucial engine of continued literary production in the Philippines is academia, one of the principal sources of employment for writers. Literary workshops notably at Silliman University and the University of the Philippines complement the ongoing institutionalization of Philippine literature courses and concentrations and, more recently, Creative Writing Programs in various universities. Writers like Bienvenido Santos and N. V. M. Gonzalez taught at universities in the Philippines and the United States.

Finally, the 'publishing boom' that followed the EDSA revolution in 1986 witnessed the revitalization of the publishing industry, with New Day, Giraffe, Solidaridad, Anvil, University of the Philippines Press, University of Santo Tomas Press, De La Salle University Press, Ateneo de Manila University Press, and the now-defunct Kalikasan and Bookmark bringing out or reprinting works of fiction (Ong, 2001). The prolific novelist F. Sionil Jose runs a bookshop and is himself a publisher. Gloria Rodriguez's stint at New Day and founding of Giraffe Books (since 1993), as well as Cristina Pantoja Hidalgo's term as director of the Likhaan: UP Creative Writing Center and the University of the Philippines Press, sparked a substantial increase in the publication of Philippine literature in English. Over the years, Filipino novels such as Stevan Javellana's Without Seeing the Dawn (1947), Carlos Bulosan's America is in the Heart (1946), Celso Carunungan's Like a Big Brave Man (1960), Linda Ty-Casper's Awaiting Trespass (1985), Ninotchka Rosca's State of War (1988), Jessica Hagedorn's Dogeaters (1990), Arlene Chai's The Last Time I Saw Mother (1995), and Bino Realuyo's Umbrella Country (1999) have been published abroad, mainly in America.

# Defining characteristics of the Filipino novel in English

It is a testament to the Filipino's novel's tenacious survival that nearly two hundred and forty novels in English have been published in book form since Zoilo M. Galang's A Child of Sorrow (1921). The conditions under which the novels have been produced and the social locations of the novelists themselves point to a number of defining characteristics of the Filipino novel in English. First, its production and reception are restricted to a minority of cultural workers in the publishing, journalism, and educational sectors and to a small percentage of the student and professional population in the Philippines, a fact that accounts for the seemingly 'incestuous' nature of literary production and consumption, and the preeminence of a 'personal' politics of authorship in the country; second, its selective 'deterritorialization' beyond the territorial boundaries of the Philippine nation-state through the Filipino diaspora; and third, the shadow cast by the former colonial power and current hegemon, the United States, as a source of 'international' exposure, educational training, knowledge production, and intellectual and artistic validation (Hau, 2000).

Events such as World War II in the 1940s and the 'People Power Revolution' in 1986 have occasionally trained the international spotlight on the Philippines and sparked international interest in Filipino novels in English, even as the international media routinely highlight the Philippines as a zone of poverty, political instability, and prostitution. The institutionalization of postcolonial and Asian-American studies in the Anglophone world, while limited in scope, has also created a niche for the circulation and critical reception of Philippine novels in English in First-World academia, even as the politics of translation and publication in the 'world republic of letters' are marked by inequalities and marginalization of cultural products written in non-English native languages from the Third World. Notwithstanding these efforts at promoting Philippine literature, most Filipinos hardly read Filipino novels in English. Depending on their social class, those who do read prefer commercial fiction or Western popular and literary novels. Philippine literature cannot compete with movies, radio, television, pop music, the Internet, and comics in capturing a mass audience.3

#### Novel and nation

The obvious limitations and restrictions which condition the writing of the Philippine novel in English are at striking variance with the amplitude and ambitions of the novel as a genre. The novel as both product and carrier of modernity is closely entwined with the formation of the nation-state, and for this reason has been theorized as no less than *the* analogue, if not formal condition of possibility, of the nation (Anderson, 1991: 9–36; Culler, 2003: 49). Nationalism, according to Marxist critic Terry Eagleton, 'speak[s] of the entry into full self-realization of a unitary subject known as the people' (1988: 9). Nationalist rhetoric and practice are grounded in assumptions which basically define the history and life of the nation in terms of the progressive and complete development of human faculties.

This dream of 'self-realization' is often posed as a theoretical and practical problem of 'culture' (Markus, 1993; Eagleton, 2000; Lloyd and Thomas, 1998; Cheah, 2003). The word 'culture' derives from the Latin word cultura, from colere, which denotes agrarian cultivation. Very early on, the term acquired an extended, pedagogical meaning, involving the 'cultivation' of the individual's moral and intellectual capabilities (Markus, 1993: 7–8). It eventually encompassed the process of self-cultivation, but also the product of such an activity, a state of being applicable to an individual, a class of people or, in time, an entire society. "Culture" then began to connote the general condition which allows people to live in an organized and well-ordered ("civilized, policed") society, advanced in material comforts, possessing "polite" urban mores, and rich in intellectual achievements' (10). Such a notion of culture

may have operated on the basis of a hierarchical opposition between 'civilized' and 'savage', but the opposition itself was conceived not as an absolute, unchanging condition, but as a matter of 'gradations of culture' which were amenable to historical change (11). By the late nineteenth century, this historicized idea of culture came to be wedded to the equally powerful ideal of universal progress, the continuous process of perfection and improvement of entire societies, and lodged firmly in the state project of mass education.

Culture established an indissoluble link between individual self-cultivation and the development of peoples and nations. Individual self-cultivation did not merely provide an analogy for the concept of the historical development of nations; it became an important model for, and contribution to, the actual 'self-development' of the nation. Education was crucial to advancing 'culture' as a normative concept which encompassed not just the process but the resulting state or product of cultivation, and not just individuals but entire societies. This emblematic role of culture in individual and national development is thematized in the first Filipino novel in English, Zoilo M. Galang's A Child of Sorrow (1921), which charts the process and progress of its male protagonist's self-cultivation and self-mastery through education. The excess of affect induced by an ill-fated romance, cut short by the machinations of his lover's politician-father and money-grubbing suitor, does not overcome Lucio Soliman, but leads him further on the path to maturity. In Maximo Kalaw's The Filipino Rebel (1930), culture is embodied by Josefa, a woman of 'the people' who transcends betrayal by her lover Juanito Lecaroz — a rebelturned-politician who succumbs to the cynicism and corruption of Philippine colonial democracy — by reinventing herself as Miss Juana Liwanag through the social mobility afforded by education (in this case, not simply any education, but education in America).

The problem of 'culture' as self-realization of freedom is posed by N. V. M. Gonzalez's The Winds of April (1941), an artist's novel (Kunstlerroman) which deals with the youth and development of the writer as a 'free' subject oscillating between a countryside subject to the depredations of nature and hard labor and a glittering city in the throes of ceaseless transformation. The novel is rife with images of movement and travel — the protagonist finds himself on horseback, on a ship and a train, with an airplane hovering above - and captures the restlessness and mobility of youth, whose inchoate longings and future-oriented perspective are suggested by the open-endedness of the novel. Yet the assertion of the writer's autonomy is made possible only by the sacrifices of the father, whose dreams are dashed again and again by failure and obstruction. The writer-narrator's strivings toward freedom are underwritten by the physical labor and enforced absences of the father, the incommensurable distance between them suggested by the fact that while it is the narrator who has the luxury of writing, it is the father who must eke out a living by selling books.

Even though novels routinely dwell on individual lives and consciousness, they also amplify the auto/biographical dimension of nation formation. Telling the nation's 'life story' is an intrinsic aspect of constituting the nation as a specific form of community. The link between nation and narration, as Benedict Anderson (1991: 6) has argued, has its basis in the problem of constructing identity. Concepts of personhood are generated out of a fundamental failure of consciousness — the impossibility of remembering everything that has happened in the course of a life span fuels both the desire for continuity guaranteed by a sense of identity and the incitement to represent that identity, typically through narration. Nations and persons share in the affliction of amnesia, and it is precisely this forgetting or loss of fragments of their respective experiential histories that fosters their need for a 'narrative of identity'.

The novel's incitement to a specifically 'Filipino' reference can be seen, for example, in the rules of the Commonwealth Literary Contest, which encourage 'creative works that record or interpret the contemporary scene, or that deal with the social and economic problems of the individual and of society over and above those that are merely concerned with fantasy, mysticism or vain speculation' (Quezon, Romulo, Lopez, et al., 1973: 62), and of the Palanca Memorial Awards, which specify that whatever theme the writer chooses needs to 'depict the Filipino way of life, culture or aspiration' (Brion, 2000: 40).

The close affinity between the nation and the novel is thus evident in the fact that the Filipino writer's self-conscious use of literary expression in his or her work simultaneously entails an excavation of, or investigation into, the nature and meaning of 'Filipinoness'. Yet for all that the novel is charged with the difficult job of representing the Philippines by creating a 'knowable community' (to borrow the phrase from Williams, 1973: 165), its ability to do so is, from its inception, fraught with ambivalence. This is partly a function of the tension between the novel's foreign origins and its 'Filipino' content, but it also has to do with the problems of representation. The project of representing Filipino society undertaken by Jose Rizal in Noli Me Tangere (1887) is marked by a deep ambivalence about the possibility of a failure of reference and representation. Rizal's adoption of an inside-outside narrative perspective in the Noli registers the presence of an 'excess' of competing cognitive standpoints generated by the colonial experience of various inhabitants in the Philippines. This complicates the novel's rhetoric of universal historical development, change, and progress, as well as its claim to representation by showing that writing is necessarily writing from a perspective rather than from a universal, omniscient standpoint. This cognitive excess cannot be simply recuperated by the pro-Hispanic reforms and series of idealized, liberal, utopian spaces that the patriotic, worldly Crisostomo Ibarra tries to create on the basis of his Europe-inspired vision of progress and change in the form of the school and the picnic, spaces where the colonial hierarchy can be flattened out, where personal happiness and political love are intertwined. Even the heroic, self-sacrificing Elias admits to his own inability to fully represent the *gente* (people) for whom he speaks.

Juan C. Laya's His Native Soil (1941) reflects on this ambivalence through its account of a repatriate, Martin Romero, embittered by hard life and racial discrimination in America (which expose the dark underbelly of the American dream), who attempts to use his training in business administration to promote native entrepreneurship in his hometown. His embrace of the capitalist ethos, however, means being tainted by 'filthy lucre' - a corruption exemplified by his dalliance with the anxiety-provoking 'modern' (read: painted, promiscuous, amoral) woman, Virginia Fe — and undermining the community he had sought to empower. He turns his back on his failure and starts anew by leaving his hometown. What enables him to do so is the love of a sensible woman with whom he creates an independent nuclear family, the main social basis of the ongoing capitalist transformation of the Philippines. The unraveling of community is experienced as personal disaster in Stevan Javellana's Without Seeing the Dawn (1947). The luckless Ricardo Suerte is forced out of the land he tills owing to the attempted seduction of his wife by his landlord's son, finds himself adrift in a brutally exploitative city and after an affair with a hostess, he elects to return to the countryside and to his family. His alienation is effected not by city or nature (a flood that destroys his homestead), but by history — the Japanese invasion of the Philippines — whose violent destruction of the community is rendered in physical (and gendered) terms through a series of horrific mutilations, particularly on the male body.

The fact that the Filipino novel is part of, yet also contributes to, the making of the nation makes culture a paradigm for politics. Here, the novel's effort to reach out to 'the people', to raise consciousness and incite action, makes the novel not simply or necessarily a product of the educated bourgeoisie nor an ideological apparatus of capitalism and its myth of individualism. This is partly because the middle classes, though already in existence for most of the twentieth century, have never been sizable. Their proportion to the total population has been relatively constant over the postindependence period. Filipinos employed in middle-class occupations (professionals and technicians, executives and managers, white-collar workers) constituted around 9.4% of the population in 1956 and 11.5% in 1965 on the eve of Marcos' presidency. Throughout the Marcos era, the number remained proportionately unchanged at 11-12% of the total working population. The figure still stood at 11.5% in 1995 (Kimura, 2002: 299). Following waves of migration to the US especially since the mid-1960s and global migration since the 1980s, the middle classes are now also widely dispersed. Less dependent on the state, socially stable, politically vacillating, and culturally ascendant, these classes cannot willfully close their eyes to the economic inequality, the

crisis of legitimacy of the Philippine state, and the social tensions and conflicts that chronically destabilize Philippine society. If the novel is the exemplary genre of homelessness, the 'epic of an age in which the extensive totality of life is no longer directly given, in which the immanence of meaning in life has become a problem' (Lukacs, 1971: 75), then the Filipino novel in English takes this homelessness further by making the middle-class intellectual the figure of (self-)alienation (Santos, 1967: 638). The inner life of sculptor Ernie Rama of N. V. M. Gonzalez's The Bamboo Dancers (1959), sealed off from all forms of human intimacy, finds its physical analogue in the photographs that distance him from the suffering wreaked by the A(merican)-bomb dropped over Hiroshima. In F. Sionil Jose's The Pretenders (1962), Antonio Samson's incarceration by marriage in the gilded ghetto drives him to suicide. Noel Bulaong in Jose Y. Dalisay, Jr.'s Killing Time in a Warm Place (1992) is even more problematically positioned since his alienation is also a form of intellectual brokering of the Philippines for consumption and exploitation by America (Tadiar, 1995).

#### Social class and the 'other' within

The notion of a divided Philippine society derives its impetus from a powerful social ideal which asserts the existence of a *Filipino* national collectivity that is founded — at least theoretically — on the formal aggregation of individuals regardless of their economic status, their religion, education, ethnicity, and gender. Yet it also registers the failure of Philippine social realities to live up to this ideal. In a country in which the disparity between rich and poor is all too visible, and where social hierarchies are organized along class, ethnic, religious, and gender lines, the concept of existing, if not antagonistic, social divisions is empirically confirmed by the 'national' traumas wrought by World War II and its bitter and equally divisive aftermath, which produced the Huk, Communist, and Islamic separatist movements, and the mass upheavals of EDSA 1, 2, and 3.

The 'Great Divide' between the so-called 'elite' and 'the masses' looms large in the intellectual imagination even as Philippine scholarship has recast the 'masses' not as passive followers of 'great men', but as the true subjects of Filipino history, the true agents of social transformation. This valorization of the nation-as-people assumes that a social field is carved out into exclusive and incompatible enclaves occupied by the 'elite', on the one hand, and 'the masses', on the other hand. Not unexpectedly, the nationalist discourse which creates the wound in social theory is also conscripted to suture it (to the extent that Pepe Samson in F. Sionil Jose's 1983 novel Mass is not content to speak for the 'masses' as part of the 'masses', but makes the impossible claim of being the 'masses'). Even Nick Joaquin's A Portrait of the Artist as Filipino (1952,

reprinted 1971) — the 'original uncut version [of which] should be read as a novel in the form of a play' — which glorifies the work of art as the embodiment of the ineluctable connection between art and history and posits art's ability to salvage history from the corruption endemic in everyday life, nevertheless concedes art's responsibility to its audience by illuminating art's dependence on interpretation by its audience. The play unfolds around the absence of both artist and painting from the stage and the text. What the reader gets, instead, are 'portraits' of both artist and masterpiece painted from the verbal descriptions, anecdotes, and interpretations provided by Don Lorenzo's family, friends, admirers, and critics.

Novels grapple with the Philippines' contentious post-independence history, and with the many specters haunting Philippine society. These specters do not simply take the form of the exploitative foreigner or outsider, but appear as the other within, the 'other' who is also Filipino, something of and within the nation that has been marginalized or suppressed in the name of the nation. Novels such as Bienvenido Santos' The Praying Man (1982) adopt an explicitly critical stance through their indictment of the Filipino elite for the latter's shallow hypocrisies, blatant exploitation and manipulations, moral failings, and intellectual vacuity. Others like Alfred A. Yuson's Great Philippine Jungle Energy Café (1988) and Voyeurs and Savages (1998), Eric Gamalinda's Empire of Memory (1992) and My Sad Republic (2000), and Charlson Ong's An Embarrassment of Riches (2000) — three of them Centennial prizewinners — strive to rewrite Philippine experience by experimenting with new ways of telling Filipino history and giving 'voice' to marginalized groups such as 'millenarians', 'tribal' minorities, and 'Chinese'.4

Kerima Polotan's The Hand of the Enemy (1962) offers a bleak picture of a Philippines weighed down by its colonial and neocolonial history. Set during the first decade after the war-ravaged country was hastily 'granted' formal independence by the United States in 1946, the novel follows Emma Rividad as she relocates to the provincial town of Tayug after a brief but disillusioning stint as an office employee and victim of sexual harassment. She is befriended by the school principal, who is tormented by his memories of the Tayug rebellion, a brief but violent uprising in 1931 that had claimed the lives of his parents and other members of a millenarian sect. Emma falls in love with and marries Domingo Gorrez, who had quit Manila in disillusionment, although he still nurses the ambition of making it in the city. After an all-too-brief halcyon period of domesticity, the couple becomes involved with the powerful Cosios, who solicit the Gorrezes' help in successfully campaigning for their presidential candidate. Through the victorious and grateful Cosios, Domingo and Emma are lured back to Manila, where their partnership with the Cosios quickly sours. Domingo finds a job in a prominent company and quickly metamorphoses into a ruthless career man. Polotan shows how each character's life is shaped and blighted by the history of the nation.

Laboring under the burden of history, Filipino novels often make backdrops of the historical events that mark the upsurge of popular protest against the elite-dominated and predatory state: The Philippine revolution against Spain, the Filipino-American war, millenarian uprisings, the Huk Rebellion, the anti-Marcos movement, which culminated in the so-called 'EDSA Revolution', and the Communist and lumad (indigenous people) movements have been the subjects of novels such as F. Sionil Jose's My Brother, My Executioner (1979), Mass (1983), and Po-on (1984); Linda Ty-Casper's The Three-Cornered Sun (1979), Awaiting Trespass: A Pasion (1985), and Dream Eden (1996); Ninotchka Rosca's State of War (1988); Antonio Enriquez's Subanons (1999); and Azucena Grajo Uranza's Bamboo in the Wind (1990) and A Passing Season (2002). Even Jessica Hagedorn's postmodern novel, Dogeaters (1990), which holds up the movie as a metaphor for the Philippines' insertion into a global capitalist imaginary ruled by image, fantasy, and commodity fetishism, still points to the 'mountains' as the site of political resistance when Joey the prostitute shakes off the tentacles of Manila and joins the rebels.

Given many novels' symbolic investment in revolution as critique and transformation of society, Carlos Bulosan's *The Cry and the Dedication* (c. 1955, published in the Philippines as *The Power of the People* [1986]), which focuses on the Huk rebellion, issues a caveat against idealizing the national liberation struggle. It instead redefines the stakes of political struggle in a way that precludes the possibility of an easy decision or calculable program of action. The novel is not about the success of the mission, but about the problems faced by the Huks, and about the group's decision to forge ahead despite the loss of the one member on whom the success of the mission depends. The novel shows how the specificity of local struggle often poses serious obstacles in thought and action, obstacles that cannot be easily surmounted through mere mechanical application of even the most laudable and theoretically sophisticated program of struggle, even as these struggles create new communities and reinvent the concepts of learning, labor, love, and activism that underpin the theory and practice of nation making.

# The question of language

The novel's link with the nation inevitably brings up the question of language. The introduction of English as a language of literary expression did not merely create a new body of writing but reordered the Philippine literary tradition, modifying its properties and internal relationships (Mojares, 1998: 342). With the coming of English, writing in Spanish receded into the archives, while writing in the vernacular 'drifted down the cultural scale, lost the best minds of the generation and had to fend for itself outside academic and critical circles' (*ibid.*). At present, English writers face the problem of alienation from a wider Filipino readership and the immediacy of Philippine realities.

Furthermore, early Filipino writers' desire for American validation fostered a 'colonial syndrome' that allowed them to feast on 'scraps of recognition coming from the cultural masters' and proclaim themselves inheritors of Shakespeare without first defining their relations with their immediate environment (Mojares, 1998). The triumphalist attitude of Filipino writers in English, however, quickly gave way in the postwar period — ironically enough, during the heyday of the novel in English — to defensiveness about the use of English (Lim, 1993), partly because the self-conscious use of Pilipino as a cultural framework of radical nationalism by students and the Left<sup>6</sup> had begun to take hold in the late 1960s, and partly because the spread through the market of Taglish and Filipino in everyday usage cemented English's association with class superiority and snobbishness and exposed English's confinement within spheres such as business and scientific research that required the use of intellectualized language and perpetuated the dominance and self-reproduction of a privileged minority (Thompson, 2003).

As early as 1940, Commonwealth President Manuel Quezon was already convinced that 'the English language can never be our national language; if it could be, then it would be some kind of English' (Quezon, Romulo, Lopez, et al., 1973: 8). Nearly thirty years later, critic Miguel Bernad noted that young Filipino writers were 'doing something to the English language' so that 'it is no longer English, not the English of America or England, but their [i.e. "Filipinos"] English' (Bernad, 1967: 794). At the same time, with the globalization of English, the critical recognition has arisen that the Englishspeaking world can no longer be conceived as a hierarchy of Englishes organized around the distinction between the metropole (the Anglophone First World) and the periphery (former colonies). The institutionalization of 'world Englishes' — the rise of which was closely paralleled by the emergence of 'Commonwealth Literature' and 'New Literatures in English' during the recent decades — has reconceptualized English as a family of varieties marked by differences in vocabulary and other linguistic features (Huggan, 2001; Ross, 2004). By the 1980s and 1990s, Philippine English had gained academic respectability, a process to which the Filipino novel's longstanding preoccupation with forging a literary language rooted in the Philippine social landscape has actively contributed. As early as 1970, Wilfrido D. Nolledo's But for the Lovers (1970) was already setting new standards for English writing through its inventive code-switching between multiple languages.

The belated recognition accorded Filipino English coincided with the promotion of postcolonial and ethnic studies in Anglophone literature departments outside the Philippines. To some extent, this has enabled the Filipino novel in English to find a transnational audience, however limited, among students and professionals in this field. But Filipino writers' hopes of having their works being included in the body of 'world literature', often cited as a rationale for writing in English, are continually frustrated by the persistent

inequalities of global literary practice (Orsini, 2004: 323). Pascale Casanova's 'world republic of letters' (2004) expounds on the idea of literary competition among national literatures and is modeled on conflict and contestation among nation-states, but does not take into account the real danger of enforced invisibility which precludes 'global' competition in the first place by virtue of the marginalization of Philippine literature, particularly Philippine writings in non-national-languages, hardly any of which are translated and entered into 'literary competitions' in the international arena.

The continuing entrenchment of English in specific areas of social interaction, moreover, has implications for the full development of Filipino as well as other Philippine languages. English stands in a hierarchical relationship with other Philippine languages, and is considered the language of prestige and of the Filipino elite in the Philippines (Sibayan, 1978). Fluency in English is a popular index of educational attainment, power, and social mobility (Sibayan and Segovia, 1979). The motivations for learning English, therefore, are both instrumental and integrative: to be able to afford better economic opportunities, on the one hand, and to identify with the educated Filipino elite, on the other (Gonzalez and Bautista, 1986: 47-48). The commitment to English, both of the government and of an influential segment of the population, is further rationalized by the rhetoric of 'comparative advantage' and shored up by the Philippines' warm-body export and muchneeded remittances. This has also sustained the preference among Filipino students for enrolling in English classes in the universities to equip them for work abroad. In the face of English's instrumentality, the nationalist critique of linguistic colonization has only been marginally influential. Indeed, the resiliency of the bilingual education policy is indicative of the strategy of compromise which educators and language planners have been forced to adopt.

There remains, however, the equally important imperative of creating linguistic public spheres in which various classes and groupings can meet on common linguistic ground, and tap the national *lingua franca*'s potential for promoting social justice through the facilitation of dialogue across social blocs. English was historically mandated to perform this task of binding society, but its spread has been uneven and it has contributed to reinforcing class differences. Despite the 'market' dissemination of Filipino, its development has not been maximized by the state through sustained efforts at standardization, intellectualization, and translation. Many schools still use English textbooks to teach science and mathematics courses and only a small number of Filipino scholars write their articles or conduct their scholarly discourse in Filipino. Owing to the state's perennial lack of funds and institutional will, other Philippine languages have been similarly neglected, and have not been adequately developed to make them effective pedagogical tools in primary school. This may mean that, although Philippine languages

show no signs of being extinct despite the entrenchment of English, most of them will remain a 'private' means of communication rather than a public medium of social intercourse.

#### Conclusion

While Filipino writers can now 'choose' their language on aesthetic grounds, the community of readers demanded and to an extent created by the novel in English will necessarily be limited, as Isagani Cruz has argued, to those who are or can be versed in the 'specialized kind of English read only by those who read a lot of literature' (Gonzalez, 1988: 35). Part of the price the novel pays for the specialization of its readership is its diminished significance in public life (Mojares, 1998). But we need only remember the impact that Rizal's novels had on the development of Philippine nationalism despite his novels' limited circulation to realize that the issue is not a simple one of novels in fruitless search of readers. The fact that Rizal was executed by the Spanish colonial state partly on the evidence of his 'past works and writings' (Guerrero, 1963: 415) shows how far removed the contemporary novel is from a time when 'acts of literature' had political repercussions and were capable of inspiring political action. Leonard Casper (1995: 5) observes that writers who were detained during Martial Law were silenced for their reportage or published comments in newspapers (and, equally important, for their activism) rather than for their fiction, plays, or poetry:

Was it because established novelists, poets and playwrights were assumed to be beneficiaries of 'capitalist imperialism' ... whose ambitions coincided therefore with Marcos' own? Or had the authors turned to trivia as a safeguard, abandoning a long tradition of polemicism in literature? Or could it be that Marcos considered such works irrelevant inventions, temporary entertainments: gnats, not anay [termites]?

Casper's contention that the indirectness of literary expression can only unleash 'invisible arrows' is but a partial answer. The writers who ran afoul of the dictatorship took their writing seriously enough to put their words into practice. It may well be that the invisibility of their arrows kept these arrows from hitting their targets, but this is not a mere consequence of the novels' subsistence on the waning value of literature in the digital age, a waning that, happily enough, has not prevented writers from writing. Perhaps the arrows were blunted in part by the corralling of the novel within the very 'field' of writing in English that has kept the novel alive but tends to limit the activity of reading and writing literature solely to encounters with texts, and in only one language. The inability of the literary field to translate the novel's call for nuance, tolerance, openness, and critique into active intervention in, and

transformation of, the world ultimately impoverishes not only the novel, but also the images, thoughts, practices, and languages by which Filipinos live the experiences that the novel seeks to represent.

#### Notes

- 1. The first Filipino novel, *Ninay* (1885), was written by Rizal's contemporary and fellow *ilustrado* Pedro Paterno.
- 2. This conservative estimate (as of June 2005) is based on long fiction written by Filipinos and published in the Philippines and novels on the Philippines and the Filipino diaspora written by Filipinos abroad or writers of Filipino ancestry and published in the Philippines or elsewhere. The figure does not include novels or novels-in-progress serialized or excerpted in magazines or journals, novels submitted as graduate theses, and award-winning unpublished novels. I thank Ina Cosio for her help in compiling the bibliography of these novels.
- 3. Notwithstanding their commercial bent, film and television now share the status that literature once enjoyed as the preeminent space of 'culture', even as they are important media for creating a truly national Filipino language (which includes specific usages of English). Charlson Ong (2001) notes that '[t]elevision is the preferred medium of entertainment and information among Filipinos. In the rural areas, radio is king. Among the more privileged urban youth, surfing the Web has overshadowed old-fashioned book reading'.
- 4. For a discussion of the limits of the Centennial novels' narrative engagements with Philippine history, see Laurel (2003).
- 5. There is as yet no major novel that deals specifically with the Muslim national and Islamic movements. Edilberto Tiempo's *Farah* (2001) focuses on elite Muslim acculturation to the Filipino and Western mainstream.
- 6. The Communist Party of the Philippines' program for 'National Democratic Revolution' (1968) called for the propagation of the national language (Pilipino) as a medium of instruction and communication.

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#### 336 Caroline S. Hau

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# Filipino diasporic literature

Alfred A. Yuson

#### Introduction

We call him Manong Bert, with the honorific meaning 'older brother' or 'uncle'. As traditional endearments go, it also connotes respect for an older male with whom we enjoy not filial but convivial relations. His full name is Alberto S. Florentino. He is a bilingual Filipino playwright and book publisher. Or rather, was. At 74 years, he now essays a retiree's life in New York City, where he and his wife Eva live in an old folks' home. They migrated to the United States in 1983. Three daughters are scattered all over the US, one of whom has two precocious daughters, whom Lolo (Grandpa) Bert often lauds proudly on the Internet for having published a poem or won an art contest, this before either has reached puberty. Manong Bert spends practically the whole day before a computer, blogging and e-mailing e-groups and individual friends, some of whom occasionally complain over his frequent (often repeat) postings. But that's what Bert loves to do, so he constantly excuses himself for his failing memory and eyesight, and often laments instances of hard-disk crashes that wiped out this or that of his treasury of Philippine literature and personal reminiscences. But Alberto Florentino remains an English-language fount of information and memory, and his daily cross-postings draw appreciation from young Fil-Ams, or Filipino-Americans, who are just discovering the historical background behind Filipino diasporic literature as well as homegrown Philippine literature in English.

Filipino-Americans have become a mainstay in the US over the past two to three decades, leading the remarkable exodus to foreign spaces. Of a little over 80 million Filipinos as of 2005, nearly a tenth or close to 8 million live and work abroad. The United States has over a million officially-registered citizens of Filipino stock, but the so-called 'TNT' (tago ng tago; 'hiding always') or illegal immigrants are said to push that number to as much as 2.5 million. Among these, there is a significant community of creative and/or academic writers, forging a literature that has strong ties with the Motherland.

# The distinctiveness of Filipino diasporic literature

There are two distinct features of Filipino diasporic literature. One, it is written in a second language, English, with which Filipinos have been more than familiar for over a century. Two, the output may now be said to compete strongly with, if not carry the possibility of eventually overwhelming, the literature being written 'back home'. While literature in the Philippines is written in a variety of languages, including the national one of Filipino, which is Tagalog-based, as well as at least four major regional languages (Cebuano or Sugbuanon, Ilocano or Iloko, Ilonggo or Hiligaynon, and Bicolano or Bikol), English-language writers still hold sway. English is used in education, business, government, law, and the mainstream print media. Only in the electronic media (radio and television) and 'local' movies do Filipino (still basically Tagalog) and the regional languages take over. Official communication is almost always done in English, while office and street conversation is carried out in a patois called 'Taglish' — a combination of Tagalog and English, with speakers alternating between sentences and phrases in both languages, and often mixing up words and declensions, within the same sentence, with bilingual adroitness. Often a swell of pride and a tinge of mischief accompany the self-conscious use of Taglish. Commentators on the use of this mixed language still chortle over the episodes of social immersion in the 1970s, the decade marked by militant protest against the Marcos regime, when colegialas or Catholic private school girls, as an extension of the elite class, tweaked the strict use of proper English in the classroom in favor of a Valley Girl-type of creative expression. The street slogan 'Huwag matakot! Makibaka!' (Don't be afraid! Join the struggle!) gained cute transposition into 'Don't be takot! Let's make baka!'

In this day and age of cell phone use, the economical feature called SMS or Short Message Service, a.k.a. texting, has been welcomed with typical passion by characteristically conversant (or gossipy) Filipinos, leading to the distinction for their cell site-dotted environment as the 'texting capital of the world'. Texting allows Filipinos to alert associates that they will be late for a meeting, since they're tied up in urban traffic, or ask home for an instant grocery list, get the latest basketball scores, exchange felicitations, engage in flirting banter or adulterous arrangements, and pass on countless jokes, including political ones that have helped unseat a president. Apart from the shortcut codes that make use of numbers in place of long syllables ('d8' means 'date'), bilingual crossovers allow the Filipino much room for elaborate punning. A recent example of the frequent serio-comic attempts to topple yet another president through this handy gadget goes like this: Leading up to Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo's State of the Nation Address (SONA), gleeful texters passed the brief words on — 'Gloria prepares for the SONA, but people want her to GONA!' The bilingual, portmanteau'd 'Go na!' means 'Go already!' Get it?

Amusement over streetwise merging of Filipino and English has also led to such distinctly flavored commercial signage, e.g. 'Goto Heaven' for a corner kiosk serving a kind of congee (goto). Cebuanos have popularized a food plaza concept that serves seafood three ways: sugba (grilled), tola (stewed), or kilaw (simply vinegared, as in ceviche). Contracting the three vernacular terms equals SU-TO-KIL, which turns into Shoot To Kill in the restaurant sign. Why, Pinoys (as Filipinos like to call themselves, colloquially) don't even need to make fun of languages; one will do — that familiar second one. Thus, a flower shop bills itself as Petal Attraction, a bakery as Bread Pitt, a haberdashery shop as Elizabeth Tailor.

## The colonial background: From Spanish to English

Call it revenge for the 'fifty years in Hollywood' that the country's second colonial experience is often made light of, after those 'three centuries in a convent'. Filipinos spoke, and the intelligentsia or ilustrados wrote, Spanish before the 1899 Treaty of Paris sealed the deal and turned over the islands to the United States for the imperialist exercise founded on the rationales of Manifest Destiny and Benevolent Assimilation. National hero Dr. Jose P. Rizal wrote two novels in Spanish while in Europe to lead the ilustrados' Propaganda Movement in the 1890s. We might say it was a foretaste of diasporic literature. The serial novels were deemed incendiary by the Spanish government in Manila. Rizal was tried for insurrection and suffered a martyr's death by musketry, fanning the flames for the first revolution and the first proclaimed independent republic in Asia, in 1898. American rule from 1899 to 1946 featured a kind of benevolence all right. Filipinos were taught English, both domestically and in the US, where from 1903, the Pensionado program sent the brightest Filipino students to colleges and graduate schools. Some of these students produced the first Filipino creative writing in English, published in the Filipino Students' Magazine in April and June 1905 in Berkeley, California (Carbo, 1999: 122-23).

Today, English-language communicators on paper outnumber those for any combination of native languages. The major daily broadsheets are all in English. Business correspondence has to be in English, even from island to island, as in internal commerce. Jurisprudence, inclusive of the oft-revised Philippine Constitution, is almost entirely in English. Legal contracts are written in English. On paper, it is English, but the average Pinoy is still more articulate and naturally self-expressive in Filipino, Tagalog, Cebuano, or whatever. Thus, in the last decade television news programs have shifted nearly entirely to Filipino. A few retain the use of English for the anchorperson's exposition; more often than not, the sound bites produced in oral interviews shift to Filipino as the interviewers scale down the economic ladder, from

Senate floor or social ball to the man in the street, the Juan de la Cruz who is the counterpart to John Doe. English-language writers (not necessarily readers) still outnumber those who write communication or literature in the native languages. Now that call centers have become a major source of employment for those whose mimetic ability, helped along by a good dose of American music and movies since childhood, has attained mastery of the schwa and the twang, verbal skill in English may soon see regeneration after decades of consternation over the deterioration of Filipinos' English usage.

Ophelia A. Dimalanta, a distinguished poet, critic, and head of the Center for Creative Writing and Studies of the University of Santo Tomas, the oldest university in Asia (antedating even Harvard), summarizes the legacy of colonialism thus:

The almost four centuries of foreign domination had made Filipinos proficient in several tongues. By learning English and Spanish, educated Filipinos came in contact with the humanistic and scientific works of the most advanced countries of the world. On the other hand, some scholars claim that the development of this Western cultural orientation resulted in the submergence of those Asian values which are the bases of a national culture in evolution. [...] The granting of political independence did not in fact end American domination ... For many years after Philippine 'independence', the educational system was still American-oriented. But, somehow, the more important writers of this period tried to prove that even while they wrote in English, they remained essentially Filipino at heart. (Dimalanta, 2000: 313)

The top of the line in English-language usage in the Philippines has of course been the creative and/or academic writer, who is said to be taking part in the contemporary literary wave of 'the empire writing back' — parallel to British Commonwealth writing. While a Filipino writer has yet to reach the heights of international literary success as the fabled likes of Salman Rushdie, Kazuo Ishiguro, Timothy Mo, or Michael Ondaatje, a fast-growing number of diasporic writers have been in the forefront of dynamic Asian-American writing.

# Early Filipino-American writers

Of the early Filipino immigrants to the US, the first to make a literary mark was Carlos Bulosan, a self-taught writer and union activist who became the foremost chronicler of the Filipino — and eventually Filipino-American — struggle. Arriving in Seattle in 1930, the uneducated, 17-year-old peasant boy from Pangasinan province found low-paying hotel service jobs and worked in fields and fish canneries up and down the West Coast. He taught himself to read and write and became involved in union organizing. After suffering an illness, he died in 1956 at the age of 44, poor and unemployed. But in that

short life he managed to break into national publications with his fiction, published in the 1940s in the *New Yorker, Harper's Bazaar*, and *Arizona Quarterly*. His landmark work was the autobiographical novel *America Is in the Heart* (1946). Bulosan's literary achievement merited an issue of *Amerasia Journal* that was devoted to his life and writings, and even today his 1946 novel is considered a classic of Asian-American literature.

Another early writer was Jose Garcia Villa, who entered the United States in 1929, a young poet expelled from the University of the Philippines for alleged obscene verse ('I will suck a coconut because it is the nipple of a woman'). But he won First Prize in a short story competition, and the cash award was enough for a boat ticket to the US. There he 'made it' as much as Bulosan did; in fact he made an even stronger impact that would have him lionized back home for decades. If Bulosan was the icon of an archetype (Filipino toiling on the West Coast) who wrote some verse and fine prose, Villa became the New York City godling of an aesthete, the premier poet who enjoyed the company (and influence) of e.e. cummings and the critical laudation of Marianne Moore. Much has been written of Villa, of the arresting sparks of divinity, or the posing as nemesis to it, in his poetry, a poetry that colonized the language in a lyric new manner:

I can no more hear Love's Voice. No more moves The mouth of her. Birds No more sing. Words I speak return lonely. Flowers I pick turn ghostly. Fire that I burn glows Pale. No more blows The wind. Time tells No more truth. Bells Ring no more in me. I am all alone singly. Lonely rests my head. O my God! I am dead!

- Lyric 11 (Villa, 1962: 12)

Other poems by Villa astounded with their strange, precious ruminations

A radio made of seawater Will have mermaids for music: Who when me they will kiss All my senses will greet. A radio made of birds
Will have music of grapes!
Who between their ribs
Shall carry joys without peer.

But a radio made of Light Will have music of Blakes: Who with great tigertails Will beat God-musicales.

- Lyric 21 (Villa, 1988: 45)

and experimentation with form, although Villa stopped writing poetry by the 1960s, and died a recluse in New York City in 1997.

#### Post-World War II writers

One of the most influential Filipino writers of the post-war generation was Bienvenido N. Santos, who 'took up the theme of personal and sociocultural alienation ... among Filipinos stranded in America during the war, suffering from intense homesickness but somehow managing to endure with strength and fortitude and "loveliness" of spirit' (Dimalanta, 2000: 317). Other prominent Filipino writers of the wartime generation who gained from long years of literary training in American academe were Francisco Arcellana, Ricaredo Demetillo, Edilberto K. Tiempo, Edith L. Tiempo, N. V. M. Gonzalez, Manuel Viray, Carlos A. Angeles, and Wilfrido D. Nolledo. But they all came home where they continued to distinguish themselves, authoring books of fiction and poetry in English.

Edilberto and Edith L. Tiempo established the Silliman University Writers Workshop in Dumaguete City (now the National Writers Workshop) in 1962, patterning it after the Iowa Writers Workshop they had both attended. Arcellana, Gonzalez, and Edith Tiempo were eventually declared National Artists for Literature; their predecessor for the distinguished award was Villa, the first such recipient, in 1971. Bienvenido N. Santos was denied the award because he had changed citizenship while in the US. Wilfrido D. Nolledo, born in Manila in 1933, established himself as a short fiction writer and playwright of note in Manila, where he won numerous literary prizes. His dazzling prose intoxicated a generation of younger writers. His influence as a language writer remained strong until he virtually disappeared for his first sojourn in America, also in Iowa, during which time he authored a novel, *But for the Lovers* (1970), which was reprinted in the 1990s, and had a lasting influence.

As Davis (2004) has pointed out, the links between Philippine literature in English and Filipino/American literature are crucial. Such early writers as

Jose Garcia Villa, Bienvenido Santos, and N. V. M. Gonzalez lived and worked in both countries, and there was also a crossover influence from other varieties of Asian-American literature. Davis thus comments that:

Teaching Asian American literature in the mid-90s in Manila was another experience that illustrated to me the links between the Filipino/a worldview and American culture: the students readily identified with these texts almost as part of their own production. Because of the Chinese presence in the Philippines, for example, many of my students identified completely with Amy Tan's protagonists in *The Joy Luck Club*, as experiences they had lived themselves. Interestingly, there was less identification with Jessica Hagedorn's *Dogeaters*, which seems to have more popularity in the US than in the Philippines. (Davis, 2004: 7–8)

# From the 1970s to the present

In the 1970s, with resurgent nationalism came the contentious language debate. Writers in Filipino had for a time suffered in comparison to writers in English. Publications were still predominantly in English. Venues for literary output, in particular, were mostly for English works. With attempts by successive governments to replace English by Filipino as the medium of instruction at certain levels, writers in the vernacular began to gloat that Filipino writers in English would soon become a dying breed. The expectation was that 'Filipino', as the government had decreed the Tagalog language would now be officially called, would incorporate some of the vocabulary of other regional languages, and develop into a vehicle worthy of expression of national yearnings. This has not exactly come to pass. Cebuano speakers, in particular, since they outnumber Tagalog speakers, refuse to yield to the official acceptance of Tagalog or Filipino (the official name of the national language).

While literature in Filipino and the regional languages continues to gain ground, writing in English still attracts the better numbers, as well as both national and international recognition. Leonard Casper, Emeritus Professor of English at Boston College, also Humanities sub-editor of *Pilipinas* (University of Arizona), has written nine books of criticism on Philippine literature. He is married to the Filipina novelist Linda Ty-Casper, who is one of the strongest voices in Philippine diasporic literature. Casper (2002) has listed the most influential Filipino writers in the US as including such novelists as Cecilia Manguerra Brainard, When the Rainbow Goddess Wept (1994); M. Evelina Galang, Her Wild American Self (1996); Ninotchka Rosca, Twice Blessed: A Novel (1992); Michelle Cruz Skinner, Mango Seasons (1996); Lara Stapleton, The Lowest Blue Flame Before Nothing: Short Stories (1998); Linda Ty-Casper, Dream Eden (1996); Jessica Hagedorn, Danger and Beauty (2002), Dogeaters (1990), and The Gangster of Love (1996); and Bino A. Realuyo, The Umbrella Country (1999). Important

short fiction includes the work anthologized by Hagedorn in Charlie Chan Is Dead: An Anthology of Contemporary Asian American Fiction (1993) and Luis H. Francia and Eric Gamalinda's Flippin': Filipinos in America (1996). Casper also lauds the Filipino/Filipino-American poetry in Nick Carbo's Returning a Borrowed Tongue: An Anthology of Filipino and Filipino American Poetry (1996).

Diasporic Philippine literature continues to be written in the US by official immigrants as well as long-term expatriates, both of whom enjoy an advantage over their home-based peers by way of accessibility to American literary agents and publishing houses. Unarguably the best-known writer in Professor Casper's list is Jessica Hagedorn, whose first novel, *Dogeaters* (1990), gained a National Book Award nomination. Born and raised in the Philippines, she migrated with her family while still in her early teens. She first came out with poetry collections while in San Francisco. Moving to New York, she bolstered her reputation as a poet, playwright, performance artist, and novelist. *The Gangster of Love* (1996) and *Dream Jungle* (2003) are her second and third novels. A collection of selected poetry and short fiction, *Danger and Beauty* (2002), earned a *New York Times* book review. Hagedorn has also edited *Charlie Chan Is Dead: An Anthology of Contemporary Asian American Fiction* (1993), and a follow-up volume, *Charlie Chan Is Dead 2: At Home in the World: An Anthology of Contemporary Asian American Fiction* (2004).

# New York and the East Coast

Like Hagedorn, a number of important Filipino-American writers are based in New York. These include Ninotchka Rosca, Luis Cabalquinto, Luis Francia, Linda Faigao-Hall, and Bino Realuyo. Already an accomplished writer in Manila, Ninotchka Rosca attended the International Writing Program in Iowa City in the late 1970s, after which she moved to New York, remaining there ever since. She has authored five books and was the recipient of the 1993 American Book Award for Excellence in Literature for her novel Twice Blessed (1992). Rosca's first novel was State of War (1988), and she has also published ENDGAME: The Fall of Marcos (1987), and The Monsoon Collection, early short stories (1983). Luis Cabalquinto, another multi-awarded writer in the Philippines, writes in three languages: his native Bikol, Tagalog, and English. He resettled in New York over three decades ago. His literary works include poetry, fiction, and non-fiction, and his most recent poetry collections are Bridgeable Shores (2001) and Moon over Magarao (2004). Luis Francia also migrated to New York in the mid-1970s, where he teaches at New York University. He edited a Filipino and Filipino-American poetry anthology, Brown River, White Ocean, for Rutgers University Press in 1993, and co-edited, with Eric Gamalinda, Flippin': Filipinos in America (1996), an essay collection, Eye of the Fish: A Personal Archipelago (2001), co-edited, with Angel Shaw, Vestiges of

War: The Philippine American War and the Aftermath of an Imperial Dream (2002), and a poetry collection, Museum of Absences (2004). Playwright Linda Faigao-Hall, a native of Cebu City, migrated to the United States at the age of 25, has stayed for three decades in New York, and has authored a number of plays including Woman from the Other Side of the World (1996). Of a younger generation is Bino Realuyo, who migrated to New York in his early teens. His acclaimed debut novel, The Umbrella Country (1999), was included in Booklist Magazine's 'Ten Best First Novels of 1999', and his first poetry collection, The Gods We Worship Live Next Door, appeared in 2006.

Others of the younger generation based on the East Coast include the fine short fiction writer Lara Stapleton (The Lowest Blue Flame before Nothing, 1998), poets Jon Pineda (Birthmark, 2004), Aimee Nezhukumatathil (Miracle Fruit, 2002), Patrick Rosal (Uprock Headspin Scramble and Dive, 2003), Sarah Gambito (Matadora, 2004), and Paolo Javier (The Time at the End of This Writing, 2004). Others worth noting are poet-performer Reggie Cabico and poets Marie Bismonte, Joseph O. Legaspi, Joseph Nepomuceno, Joseph Sabado, and Charles Valle. Two other writers with strong connections to New York are Nick Carbo and Eileen Tabios. Nick Carbo has penned three poetry collections: El Grupo McDonald's (1995), Secret Asian Man (2000), and Andalusian Dawn (2004). He has also edited three major literary anthologies: Returning a Borrowed Tongue: Poems by Filipino and Filipino American Writers (1996), Babaylan: An Anthology of Filipina and Filipina American Writers, with Eileen Tabios (2000), and Pinoy Poetics: A Collection of Autobiographical and Critical Essays on Filipino and Filipino-American Poetics (2004). Eileen Tabios moved to California from New York in the late 1990s, where she is active as a poet, fiction writer, critic, editor, and promoter of Philippine diasporic literature. Tabios' first poetry collection was Beyond Life Sentences (1998), and her most recent books are Reproductions of the Empty Flagpole (2002), Behind the Blue Canvas (2004), Ménage à Trois with the 21st Century (2004), and I Take Thee, English, for My Beloved (2005).

# The West Coast

Dynamic literary activity is also made manifest on the West Coast, where Filipinos have established large if disparate communities. Among the most notable Fil-Am literary artists on the West Coast are Oscar Peñaranda, Cecilia Manguerra Brainard, Marianne Villanueva, Tess Uriza Holthe, Noel Alumit, Oliver de la Paz, and Fatima Lim-Wilson, while distinguished academic writers include Vicente L. Rafael and Leny M. Strobel.

Born in Leyte, Philippines, Oscar Peñaranda migrated to Canada in 1956, when he was 12, and eventually settled in San Francisco, where he writes and is active as a community activist and advocate for ethnic studies in the schools,

and a teacher. His latest books are a collection of interrelated stories titled Seasons by the Bay (2004) and a collection of poetry, Full Deck: Jokers Playing (2004). Cecilia Manguerra Brainard is originally from Cebu, and her work includes the novel When the Rainbow Goddess Wept (1994 [entitled Song of Yvonne in the Philippines]), as well as anthologies, including Contemporary Fiction by Filipinos in America (1997) and Growing up Filipino: Stories for Young Adults (2003). Manila-born Marianne Villanueva has authored a short fiction collection, Ginseng and Other Tales from Manila (2003), and recently co-edited, with Virginia Cerenio, Going Home to a Landscape: Writings by Filipino Women (2003). Tess Uriza Holthe, born in 1966 to immigrant parents in San Francisco, has published an acclaimed novel, When the Elephants Dance (2002). Noel Alumit's novel Letters to Montgomery Clift (2002) has been widely acclaimed, as have a number of his plays. Other published writers on the West Coast include Oliver de la Paz, Fatima Lim-Wilson, Vicente L. Rafael, Leny Mendoza Strobel, Myrna Peña-Reyes, Felix Fojas, Mar V. Puatu, and Paulino Lim, Jr.<sup>3</sup>

### Other US-based writers

Scattered all over the US mainland are many other noteworthy literary voices of Filipino stock including Linda Ty-Casper, author of eleven historical novels set in the Philippines; poets Eugene Gloria, Vince Gotera, Luisa Igloria, Rowena Torrevillas, Marisa de los Santos, and Sofia M. Starnes; short fiction writer M. Evelina Galang; lawyer, musician, and writer Rodney Dakita Garcia; and playwright Reme-Antonia Grefalda (see 'References' below). Fil-Am writers based in Hawaii include Michelle Cruz Skinner, who has authored a short story collection, Balikbayan: A Filipino Homecoming (1988) and a novel, Mango Seasons (1996); novelist Dr. Victor Ordoñez (With Hearts Aflame, 2003); as well as Belinda A. Aquino, Theodore S. Gonzalves, Jovita Zimmerman Rodas, and Elynia Ruth Mabanglo (who writes mainly in Filipino).4

If we include all the other Filipinos and Fil-Ams in the US who have begun to make their mark in books and journals, well over a hundred Filipino-American writers qualify for citation. They may now outnumber their counterparts writing in English in the home country, if we go by a loose standard of publication, meaning the inclusion of all those who have managed to see their creative works appear in print. The often superb quality of diasporic writing further suggests that the future of Philippine literature in English may now rest largely on the continuing accomplishments of Filipino writers in America.

# Philippine diasporic literature outside the US

Expatriate Filipino writers outside of the United States also comprise quite a listing. In Australia, there is the Philippine-born (in 1955) Filipino-Chinese-Australian Arlene J. Chai, now based in Sydney, who has authored four major novels, The Last Time I Saw Mother (1995), Eating Fire and Drinking Water (1996), On the Goddess Rock (1998), and Black Hearts (2000). Also based in Australia is the dramatist and short fictionist Merlinda Bobis, whose play Rita's Lullaby won a Prix Italia award in 1998. In Europe, notable writers include the short fiction writer Reine Arcache Melvin (in Paris); poets and fiction writers Edgardo B. Maranan, Gene Alcantara, Perfecto Terra, Jr., David Cortes Medalla, Rene J. Navarro, and Ivy Alvarez (in London and the UK); Joel H. Vega, Rochita C. Ruiz, Ella Sanchez Wagemakers (in the Netherlands); Edna Weisser (Germany), and Rocio G. Davis (Spain). Other writers scattered around the world include poets Jim Pascual Agustin and Virgil Reyes (South Africa); and, closer to home, Norma O. Miraflor, Felisa H. Batacan, Nadine Sarreal, Noelle Q. de Jesus-Chua (Singapore), Wilfredo O. Pascual Jr. (Bangkok), poet-artist Papa Osmubal (Macau), poet Loreta M. Medina (Korea), and Rey Ventura (Japan).

## Conclusion

Surely we have missed other Filipino expatriate writers, and certainly, more will come out of the global woodwork, happily brandishing a literary English that has only begun to avenge our assimilation into that language. It is only the beginning of the counter-colonization of English, and perchance portends a future empire of the imagination ruled by way of rampant diaspora.

With continued development occasioned by a highly competitive arena abroad, overseas Filipino writers and those of Filipino extraction anywhere in foreign lands stand to make a mark in world literature. To a man, and woman, they look back at the land of their and/or their parents' birth, despite their easy assimilation in an adopted country. They recall the countless sources of literary material — by way of stories heard while growing up, or the continuum of wistful reveries issuing from older members of the family, often regarding the distinctive quality of personal relationships vis-à-vis historical episodes that have enriched their home country's own intriguing narrative.

All of this provides inexhaustible material for poems, stories and creative non-fiction pieces. At the same time, these overseas writers learn fast from any Western modernist and post-modernist literary example. Applying and/or pioneering in fresh techniques and parameters while relying on rich and oftentimes quaint sources for leitmotifs, themes, and concerns helps develop a particularly resonant voice that is unique in world literature. In Southeast

Asia, the Filipino writer stands tall as a paragon of hybrid excellence in his/her own native and adopted language, English. The poems and stories written in either medium of creative expression offer a range of subjects and admirable diversity of style. Homegrown and determinedly home-based Filipino writers take pride in averring that they would not ever want to exchange their position in the geographical *cum* literary environment — with, say, their Singaporean or Malaysian neighbors, for whom it is claimed a narrow doorway leads only to the staple of generational tensions or the clash between tradition and modernity as what are apparently well-worn themes.

In the Philippines, nearly four centuries of colonial experience, under Spain thence America, as well as the brief but wrenching Japanese Occupation during World War II, have gifted the artist with a lode of incalculable matrix that can be mined for its complexities of details pertaining to human conflict. Ferdinand Marcos' Martial Law era is another rich vein for memorable literature. A passionate sense of folk religion that owes as much to indigenous cultural practices as it does to a powerfully impacting, imposed faith often enriches the writer's armory of the imagination. So too do core beliefs, tribal practice, superstition, native myths, legends and lore, as well the experience of island existence that has been a natural birthright. Add to these the serial history of uprisings against authority, revolts and revolutions, and the *remontado* or back-to-the-mountain escape route, and any writer worth his or her salt may weave narratives and lyric transpositions that are often misread by Western critics as attempts at emulating South American magic realism.

A Filipino writer attending a literary conference abroad will be quick to challenge such critics to come to his/her country and spend time in the vibrant, chaotic metropolis that is Metro Manila, or in any village in the countryside — what American soldiers called the boondocks (adapting the Filipino word bundok, meaning mountain). There, anywhere, the visitor can make sure to spend full days staring out a window, keeping eyes wide open to take in what transpires as a parade of apparently mundane activity out on the street or in some town plaza. And he/she can only marvel at frequent instances of magic realism. These might include tabloid headlines screaming: 'Woman gives birth to fish!' Or a throng of men packed into a Manila plaza, struggling desperately against one another to wipe their white kerchiefs on any part of an oversized ebony wooden figure of a cross-burdened Christ. The reputedly miraculous icon is borne aloft on a carroza or high carriage that is in turn pulled with thick ropes by other male devotees of this red-letter-day tradition. Away from the city, islanders in Roman centurion garb, large wooden masks concealing their faces, chase after the appointed fugitive with mock swords in a fiesta pantomime that is an annual Lenten feature.

There is so much more to be seen and experienced in an archipelago that is the Pacific gateway to the Far East, the erstwhile Pearl of the Orient, 'where Asia wears a smile' — indeed, where the happiness index thumbs its

crinkling nose at poverty level figures. This is the country whose history has been encapsulated by a pundit as 'having spent three centuries in a convent followed by fifty years in Hollywood'. Song and laughter characterize the loving intimacies of the extended Filipino family, whether at home or abroad. Now that the Filipino is everywhere, the Filipino chronicler has also become a global feature, drinking from various cultures and environments, soaking it all up, all in, while transforming the vigorous timeline of recall and present-day celebration into a literature of shared destinies.

The expatriate Filipino writers now engage the homegrown breed in a friendly, healthy, mutually sustaining race to a finish line that is constantly drawing farther, but not away; rather it lures all the spirited creative talent into a riot of fiesta colors. That Filipino writers have to conduct this marathon engagement in a second language seems only to spur them on, toward that day when all together they will raise a flag of creative expression that is the world's, and yet their very own.

### Notes

- 1. Fil-Am and expatriate Filipino writers included in the second volume are Gina Apostol, Peter Bacho, Eric Gamalinda, R. Zamora Linmark, Sabina Murray, Han Ong, and Brian Ascalon Roley, plus Carlos Bulosan, Bienvenido N. Santos, and Jose Garcia Villa (with 'Untitled Story'). Gina Apostol's first novel, Bibliolepsy, won the Philippines National Book Award for Fiction in 1998. Peter Bacho was born in Seattle in 1950 and is the author of two novels, Cebu (1991) and Nelson's Run (2002), as well as short fiction in Dark Blue Suit and Other Stories (1997). Eric Gamalinda's poetry collection Zero Gravity: Poems (1999) won the Asian American Literary Award in 2000. R. Zamora Linmark was born in the Philippines and raised in Hawaii, and has published a novel, Rolling the R's (1995) and the poetry collection Prime Time Apparitions (2005). Sabina Murray, a half-Filipina, came out with a paperback novel in the early 1990s, Slow Burn, when she was just 18, followed by a short fiction collection, The Caprices (2002), and a second novel A Carnivore's Inquiry (2004), which instantly gained distinction as a Chicago Tribune Best Book of 2004. Manila-born Han Ong went to the US as a teenager and became among the youngest MacArthur Fellows (in 1997, as a 'genius grant' winner) after writing several critically acclaimed plays. He has published two novels, Fixer Chao (2001) and The Disinherited (2004). Brian Ascalon Roley's novel, American Son: A Novel (2001), has received a number of awards, including the Association for Asian American Studies 2003 Prose Book Award.
- 2. Peñaranda was part of the 1980s group of Bay Area Fil-Am writers that formed the Kearney Street Workshop, which included poets Al Robles, Jaime Jacinto, Jeff Tagami, Virginia Cerenio, Samuel Tagatac, Serafin Syquia, and Luis Malay Syquia. Kearny Street Press published, among other titles, Without Names: A Bay Area Filipino American Poetry Collection (co-edited by Jeff Tagami), in 1987, with 31 poems by 15 Bay Area Filipino-American writers, including Virginia R. Cerenio, Luis Syquia,

Norman Jayo, Presco Tabios, Shirley Ancheta, Jeff Tagami, Mars Estrada and Lloyd Nebres, as well as Virginia Cerenio's book of poems, *Trespassing Innocence*, in 1989.

- Among other notable Fil-Am poets and writers in California are: Vangie Canonizado Buell, Liz Megino, and Terry Bautista (contributors to Seven Card Stud with Seven Manangs Wild, an anthology of Filipino-American writings published by the East Bay Filipino-American National Historical Society in 2002); Maiana Minahal (poet, author of Sitting Inside Wonder, Monkey Pod Press, 2003); Barbara J. Pulmano Reyes (Gravities of Center, 2004); Veronica Montes (whose fiction has been published in the literary journals Prism International, Furious Fictions, and maganda, as well as various anthologies); Lysley Tenorio (whose story 'Monstress' was published in the Atlantic Monthly in 2003, and was nominated for a National Magazine Award for Fiction); playwrights Irene Suico Soriano and Jeannie Barroga; poets Joel Barraquiel Tan, Michelle Bautista, Jean Vengua, and Angela Narciso Torres; Spoken Word poets Jason Bayani and Dennis Somera; Alison M. De La Cruz (poet/performance artist); Tony Robles (poet/children's story writer/ documentary writer); Melissa Roxas (poet/cultural coordinator; a 2004 PEN Emerging Voices Rosenthal Fellow); Lilledeshan Bose (poet-performer and recent transplant from Manila); Carla Vega (poet/singer/actress/dancer); Lily Ann B. Villaraza (poet-teacher); Lola Skye (poet/singer/songwriter); Rick Bonus of Seattle, WA; Alex Dean Bru of Chino, CA; Catalina Cariaga of Berkeley, CA; Herminia Meñez of Los Angeles; and Edgar Poma and Rina Fernandez of San Francisco.
- 4. To commemorate the centenary of the arrival of Filipino labor in Hawaii in 1906, Gonzalves and Skinner are co-editing a special Philippine Contemporary Literature section for the Fall 2006 issue of MANOA: A Pacific Journal of International Writing, published by the University of Hawaii.
- 5. With the advent of the Internet and desktop publishing, the proliferation of Asian-American literary associations and support groups, as well as the dramatic increase in numbers of the post-1965 immigrant generation, indeed, Filipino writers in the US appear to be coming out of the woodwork. They are legion and everywhere. At the risk of conducting a namedrop litany, the following all deserve mention (and I apologize for omissions): Fernando Afable, Shirley Ancheta, Paula Angeles, Teena Apeles, Rick Barot, Victor Bascara, Ramon Bautista, Arlene Biala, Marivi Soliven Blanco, Carlene Bonnivier, Veronica Corpuz, Fidelito Cortes, Enrique de la Cruz, Jorge Emannuel, E.R. Escober, Marlon Unas Esguerra, Augusto F. Espiritu, Nona C. Flores, Almira Astudillo Gilles, Abe Ignacio, Antonio L. Jocson, Sean Labrador, Eulalio Ibarra (a.k.a. Ken Ilio), Edwin Agustín Lozada, Natividad Macaranas, Martin F. Manalansan, Mike Maniquiz, David C. Martinez, Yolanda Palis, Elizabeth H. Pisares, Cristina Querrer, Jose Edmundo Ocampo Reyes, Wilfredo Pascua Sanchez, Janet Stickmon, and Marcelline Santos-Taylor (see 'References' below for more details on some of these writers).

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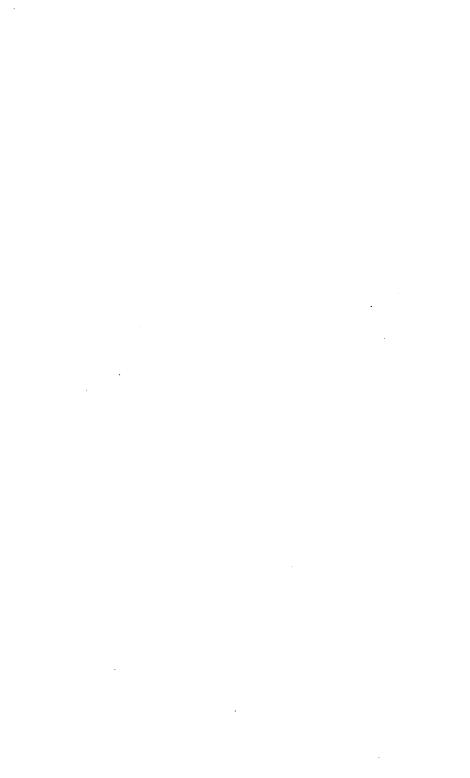
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# In conversation: Cebuano writers on Philippine literature and English

Simeon Dumdum, Timothy Mo, and Resil Mojares

# Foreword

In early 2002, Simeon Dumdum, Timothy Mo, and Resil Mojares came together in Cebu to discuss the Cebuano tradition of English-language creative writing, the legacy of Spanish and American colonialism, English in the Philippines and much else. Simeon Dumdum was born in the town of Balamban, Cebu island. He went to Ireland as a teenage seminarian before pursuing a legal career and is regarded as one of the best poets the Visayas has ever produced. He currently sits in Cebu City as a Regional Trial Court judge. Timothy Mo is a novelist and a regular visitor to the Philippines. Dr. Resil Mojares was born in Dipolog, Mindanao. He has been Director of the Center of Cebuano Studies at the University of San Carlos and taught and lectured at universities in America, Europe, Japan, and Australia.

Timothy Mo: Jun, Resil, we're going to talk about language, specifically as it pertains to the creative writer, whether he/she be poet, novelist, or I guess, even polemicist since you both have newspaper columns as well. What all three of us have in common is that we came to English as a second language and learned to love it more, perhaps, than the mother tongue. You remain bilingual, trilingual even if we remember you're at the very least proficient in Tagalog as well as being native speakers of Visayan. We part company at this point since I forgot my childhood Cantonese at the Suez Canal when I was seven and all but the ideograms for one, two, three, and China! Nevertheless, we all found English not so much a wicked as a benevolent stepmother. As we speak we find ourselves in a city of almost a million people, half of them aged under 25, which was essentially a forlorn provincial outpost for much of the twentieth century but is increasingly linked to the rest of the globe by the revolution in electronic communications, with budding Chekhovs at the keyboard of every Internet café ...

**Simeon Dumdum:** Yes, let's not forget Chekhov was a provincial doctor. It's fitting I got his short stories from the discount pile at National Bookstore across the way from here.

Timothy Mo: Chekhov can be pleased by that. They don't have my books. Look, you two are actually very privileged when you look at your antecedents, your tradition. When we look at the post-colonial literatures virtually all the best stuff is in two languages, Spanish or English. Filipinos uniquely had access to not one but both these languages, right? Not concurrently but consecutively, if it was a jail sentence, or to put it better, it's like Philippine intellectuals had tickets to both the matinee and the evening performance of the best show in town. Yet one can't help feeling they didn't make the most of this admission ticket, or that they remained in the position of audience and never became performers. Resil, you're the expert on local history. How many Filipinos were truly integrated into Spanish culture, could read Calderon and Lope de Vega?

Resil Mojares: At the end of the colonial period, something like ten per cent of the population was literate in Spanish. There was never really a large Spanish speaking population in the Philippines, other than the elite of *ilustrados*. It was a skill very largely confined to the urban centers. At the start of the twentieth century you had people like Claro M. Recto, but history had passed them by: it was too late. He never had what you could call a full-blown literary career writing in Spanish. Spanish was only important to the extent that it had seeped into the Philippine languages, been incorporated into it.

Timothy Mo: The Spaniards arrived first in Cebu. I mean, Cebu was a great trading entrepot when Manila was a marsh. When Magellan arrived, he found three Siamese ships doing a brisk trade in Cebu. Just because the Spanish presence here was longer, are there more Spanish loanwords in Cebuano than Tagalog?

Resil Mojares: I would say very little difference.

Timothy Mo: Are there Cebuano novelists writing at the time of Rizal?

Resil Mojares: No one very celebrated, but later one of the foremost Cebuano novelists was Antonio Abad, Jimmy's father. He was a professor of Spanish at the University of the Philippines and wrote a number of works in Spanish. It's unfortunate: he was highly regarded as a novelist in Spanish but is basically unread today. There's a whole generation of Filipinos writing in Spanish who are lost essentially to us today by the historical or political accident of English being the dominant second language. Abad was the last of that generation of Hispanic Filipino novelists.

Timothy Mo: Was he bilingual in English as well?

Resil Mojares: I know he wrote in Cebuano. Whether he was proficient to that extent in English ... you'd have to ask Jimmy.

**Timothy Mo:** Well, Jimmy [the poet Gémino H. Abad] strikes me as a hero from one of those nineteenth century Spanish or better French novels. I mean like Stendhal: the provincial who succeeds in the metropolis. Like Flash Elorde, the boxer, Jimmy hails from Bogo.

Resil Mojares: I think a good example of someone who was able to bridge that transition between English and Spanish is Nick Joaquin. Although he went to school in the American period already and then the novitiate in Hong Kong, he had a very strong Spanish background. He came from a family where Spanish was spoken at home and the children were tutored in that language. So, I think, di ba, Jun, Joaquin is usually mentioned as someone who writes in English but really has a Spanish sensibility in terms of the ornateness of his language.

**Timothy Mo:** That's what I meant when I said I thought Spanish suited the ebullient Philippine temperament better than English, which is a relatively plain language. Spanish was a much more sonorous and sumptuous medium of expression. But then maybe novelists don't want to be sonorous and poets do. Jun?

Simeon Dumdum: Well, I have not gone so far as to write poems in Spanish, but I agree Spanish is a very sonorous language: a lot of vowels for you to exploit, you know. But speaking as a translator, if I'm not making any digressions here, if I'm translating a foreign language like English, I first look for the native term and if I don't find it, why I look for the Spanish term. Apparently in that sense Spanish has been accepted as part of our language. And if we fail there, we go to English, so I think Spanish still has a role to play there — as a kind of goalkeeper.

**Timothy Mo:** You've both chosen to write in English and not Cebuano. Is that consciously articulated as a decision or is it instinctive?

Resil Mojares: I've been asked that question before, Tim! I don't think there really was a choice. You grew up at that time when English was the dominant medium of the educated, the medium of instruction in schools. English was the language of high literature when I was a student and Cebuano for low literature, if you like: comics, popular magazines, radio. If you wanted to be considered a serious writer, you wrote in English. That sea-change of the late 60s hadn't come about yet.

Timothy Mo: Naipaul talks about literature hallowing a place and the difficulty he had inserting what he thought of as trite and obscure matter, place names for instance, into that grand canon. Did you have that feeling? I've noticed it with Philippine novelists. To take a technical matter for the novelist — the dialogue. It never sounds like Filipinos talking to each other — more like middle class Europeans or Americans. You don't get the juice and pungency of the actual idiom.

Resil Mojares: I think that comes later in a writer's development. When did Naipaul say this? It was absolutely logical, almost inevitable and natural for writers of my generation to write in English. I mean the lack of fit between the language and what they seek to represent — the consciousness or self-consciousness of that only comes later, in retrospection. This is true in the case of a writer like N. V. M. Gonzalez — the sense of disquiet about conveying Philippine reality in a foreign language — that only came in a late phase of his writing career. But it's important to stress that for people who finished high school and college as early as the 1930s and certainly the 1940s, and 1950s, it was inevitable for them to write in English. That Anglo-Saxon culture was all pervasive for us in the Philippines, even in the provinces.

Timothy Mo: You both came from relatively humble origins to your present positions. But, Jun, although your father was actually a public schoolteacher in Balamban, you had to teach yourself to read and only did so when you were eight?

Simeon Dumdum: I was taught reading in the Spanish way — the *abacada*, the *cartilla*. And I have to say this was not the way one should be taught to read in English. This was effective for teaching nineteenth-century children to read the proclamations and orders of the Spanish rulers of the day! But somehow I was able to learn to read English simply by self-familiarization, with the way the words were actually pronounced despite the spelling. So when I was in grade school, we would have to take a test in front of the supervisor or senior teacher of our reading skills. You were either, one, fluent, two, halting, or three, a non-reader. I remember we would prepare for that — and one of the important things was to hold the book at what was regarded as the correct or proper distance for an educated person and read before the teacher.

**Timothy Mo:** And the words on your primer had the Spanish punctuation marks — the tilde and all the rest of it?

Simeon Dumdum: In fact, when I was in grade one we were taught the Spanish alphabet, for what reason I don't know. I still remember words which turned out to be not found in the English alphabet or what have you at all. I suppose

I came into it at a time when Spanish was still trying to hold on, in the provinces if not in the cities.

**Timothy Mo:** What about you, Resil. You had a more orthodox beginning in Dipolog?

Resil Mojares: Both my parents were public schoolteachers. So I practically grew up in the school, I was practically raised in the building. We lived very close to the school itself and English was the medium of instruction. That's why I say it hardly occurred to me when I began as a writer to write in the vernacular. English was the high language, the language of aspiration and achievement so far as the teachers were concerned. And when I communicated with my parents, I did so in English, not the vernacular. And then when I went off to the university I wrote letters to my parents in English always. Something else can be said about English — it's a way of distancing yourself from your emotions. Like if I wrote my poems in Cebuano, I would worry about mawkishness, sentimentality, without the emotional control of the English language. English offered detachment. If I ever had a serious conversation with my father, it would be predominantly in English. A foreign language renders things more neutral.

Timothy Mo: So it would be your super-ego talking in English?

Resil Mojares: Certainly writing love letters in English. You can manipulate things with the language, and at the very least it would be a mixture of the vernacular and the English. You'd feel more comfortable with that. I once had a conversation with the scholar Vince Rafael. Vince Rafael wrote about the Japanese occupation of the Philippines and how there was an interest in learning Japanese — that instinct to become familiar with the language of the powerful is very strong.

Timothy Mo: I have to say I'm quite the opposite: my e-mails to my family are all in my broken Cebuano — it isn't so much a distancing so much as that is the better language to communicate the small details of domesticity and if anyone is going to be laughed at for their solecisms and grammatical errors in a foreign language I'd rather it was me, the head of the household. I choose the vernacular for its disempowerment! By the way, is it fair for me to cover myself and say the grammatical structure of Cebuano is odd? If you are brought up on Latin, Cebuano is a very lawless dialect. You have rigid subject-object distinction in English, and Latin will give different word endings for nominative and accusative cases. So you say 'Look after him', not 'Look after he'. In Cebuano he/she is 'siya' and her/him is 'niya'. But you say, 'Bantay siya' — that's to say, 'Look after she', simply because the speaker wants the person

to be the focus of the sentence. Grammar is brazenly flouted. I mean, if you come from an education where you got beaten six of the best for not knowing the difference between *mensa* and *mensam*, Cebuano is outrageous. They talk about the difficulty of tonal languages but I found I could get up conversational Thai in half the time of Cebuano.

Simeon Dumdum: Actually, the Cebuano language is a very concrete language and in its concreteness it is very good for conveying actuality or physical sensations but not so good for ideas and abstract things or philosophy. But on the other hand, there are single terms in English that have many more equivalents in Cebuano. So depending on what part of the body you are washing, there are different words for washing the feet, the hands, the face, so in that sense it is richer but when it comes to logical thinking and abstract reasoning, Cebuano is not adequate at all. Certainly in terms of conveying ideas like the ontological state of being. There is no actual Cebuano word for justice — we use justicia, which is Spanish. What is considered the native term for justice — kaangayan — doesn't really convey the meaning. It does convey equality and fairness, but not the full sense of justice in the English language. In the court, the language used is English, just as Spanish was in the past and in fact there are still decisions in Spanish. Usually the testimony is translated because the record of the proceedings is in English, and it is possible for some quite comic misunderstandings to arise especially when the word originally used cannot be translated into its exact counterpart in English. At times, the transcript can be quite incongruous while still being accurate. In Manila you could use Tagalog but Visayan is not a medium here: it's English and Spanish but of course no one speaks Spanish any more. The precise nuance is very important. In English you could say killed — but in Cebuano gi-patay is quite different from na-patay. Gi-patay suggests intention, na-patay can suggest accident. So when a witness says 'na-patay ko' and the translation is 'I killed him' there is a difference the English doesn't fully describe.

Timothy Mo: Well, that can have huge practical consequences, even tragic. I mean if there is premeditation or treachery, that's the death sentence, isn't it, under the criminal code? Otherwise it's a long jail sentence.

Simeon Dumdum: It can be very practical. Of course, what the judge can do is put the Cebuano word by the side of the record to get things absolutely straight so that those reading the transcript will know exactly what the witness meant.

Timothy Mo: Do you see any way in which English could be supplanted in this area by, say, Japanese or Chinese in the next century?

Resil Mojares: I really can't imagine that. Nick Joaquin wrote an essay on the Filipino as English fictionist — I don't remember Nick talking about Spanish even. Just English. English introduced a new sensibility, and most of the best are now still writing in English. A whole new system of values was introduced with English.

**Timothy Mo:** I think that shows just how open and adaptable to the new Filipinos are. One of the good things about the social culture.

Resil Mojares: N. V. M. Gonzalez and Jose Garcia Villa are interesting writers. The first novel in English was A Child Of Sorrow — and yet it's really a Tagalog novel in English dress. Then go to Winds of April by Gonzalez — it appeared in the 1940s — and it's very different: the temper, the whole sensibility. You can't imagine it in Tagalog or Spanish. As I said, I regard it as a gain but Nick Joaquin doesn't mention in his essay what we may have lost as well had Spanish been stronger.

Timothy Mo: English is so widely diffused throughout the Philippines, much more so than in India where you have an elite, a literary elite who are proficient in English to the point where they surpass the native speaker of the tongue — yet outside the cities knowledge is patchy. Try the Philippines — the furthest flung islet or mountain barrio will have several fluent English speakers, two rabid dogs, and three 13-year-old pop singers of professional standard. Yet no way has the standard of the literati come anywhere near that of the Indian writers.

Simeon Dumdum: Of course, if you have English so widely spoken it can't be an elite standard. It becomes almost mongrelized. I mean, to speak purely in Cebuano these days is not normal. People will look at you as if you belong in another age. It's inevitable with the cable TV and the Internet. English will gain even more foothold in the future, and not lose it to the major Asian languages like Chinese or Japanese.

Resil Mojares: Nipponggo was actually taught in the schools during the Japanese Occupation but it was actually Filipino languages which benefited from this. Some of the English language writers like Gonzalez and Juan C. Laya switched back to Tagalog because the presses were discouraged by the Japanese from printing English-language books. They were all for the Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere — the Japanese empire. Then when the Japanese were beaten, Gonzalez reverted to English! Vince Rafael, whom I mentioned earlier, makes an interesting argument about the Filipino officials in the Japanese puppet government using English in their public pronouncements. By using somebody else's language, you can distance yourself

from what they're saying and, if need be, disown them. Now after the war during the late 60s, there was a rising tide of anti-Americanism, radical nationalism, and Marxism. They were all for learning from the people — literature talks with the masses. The NPA even had creative writing classes. There was a real crisis of confidence for English-language writers, people of our generation, Jun, in the late 60s. Young writers at the start of their careers, just hitting their stride — Erwin Castillo, Wilfredo Pascua Sanchez — got caught up in the turbulence of Martial Law and lost years from their careers. It was a real rupture with the past — many stopped and it took a long time to get back.

Timothy Mo: Of course, you wound up in the stockade, Resil, under Martial Law. Didn't Father Rudy Villanueva, our friend who combines being a Roman Catholic Monsignor with careers as novelist and composer, visit you inside? I remember that story about him bringing you *The Plague* by Albert Camus for a little light reading.

Resil Mojares: Actually it was Nabokov's *Invitation to a Beheading*! But my other prison reading included Camus, Solzhenitsyn, and, of course, Kafka.

Timothy Mo: Not very cheerful reading.

Resil Mojares: It was absolutely appropriate. Cheerful reading would have jarred. What had happened in Indonesia was only seven or so years back, and we were braced for the worst.

Timothy Mo: Did your English improve a lot during your three years in the seminary at Galway, Jun? And were you mocked by the Irish kids for your Filipino-isms?

Simeon Dumdum: My English improved a lot obviously when I stayed with Irish people, not being able to speak Cebuano at all and being at a relatively young age. Sometimes they found my expressions a little strange and I found theirs odd. I made a joke once and the person I was saying it to ejaculated, 'Go away!' I thought it was a little rude. Only later did I learn it was an expression of appreciation or a compliment. Then at a basketball match someone from another team got the ball and they shouted, 'Kill him! Kill him!', which took me aback. But you don't need to have gone to an exclusive school here. When I look at the present crop of writers I'm struck how many don't come from expensive schools or affluent backgrounds.

Timothy Mo: I'm all for nature winning out against nurture. You're born with your brains. If your destiny is to be a great writer, that's it. The worst schooling

in the world won't alter it — not even the Philippine textbooks with all the howlers they contain! Going back to the sixties radicalism and the present vogue for political correctness, how do you feel about the theory, espoused by many African and Indian writers, that the English language is indelibly stained with its imperial past and that to use it is to be haunted by the ghosts and the skeletons in its cupboard?

Resil Mojares: That view is strongly held in certain sectors of Philippine scholarship. I'm thinking of the indigene trend at UP and Pantayong Pananaw. This current is dominant in Philippine historical scholarship and even in psychology departments. Actually, you could say it's got downright unhealthy — some people won't cite English texts in their work! Personally I feel the language is not so much neutral as available for many purposes — though there are perils involved and one should be aware of them. It's important to have a strong sense of who you are addressing — and in the Philippines if you write in English you mustn't think you are addressing the universal audience. The language thing is a continuing struggle of making your medium convey as truthfully as you can what you want to say whilst you have to beware of distortions and misrepresentations. But then that's what makes it exciting.

Simeon Dumdum: I don't hear the voices of dead poets. I go by pleasure. I didn't have personal experience of the Japanese and Spanish Occupations and I don't feel obliged to carry those colonial loads. Perhaps they permeate us without us being aware of it and I may express in some way unknown to me the issues of colonialism when I write, but basically I find myself able to write in this language English and I go ahead and do it. I see if I can spar with the best in that language. If it comes out well, I'm happy. Being non-English, I feel certain things are inaccessible to me if I write in that language that I could reach if I use Cebuano, but I can live with that.

**Timothy Mo:** Well, that's a very empirical and classically English attitude, Jun. In fact, what I like so much about your writing is the perfect balance you've somehow found between a native diction and a universal pitch, your stuff is sophisticated and ingenuous in the same moment. You've really squared the circle there.

Resil Mojares: Jun's right. There are places I could go in Cebuano that I couldn't in English, but I'd have to immerse myself. And it's too late to change. Inertia, you know, sets in at this stage in your writing career.

Simeon Dumdum: I appreciate the works of Tem Adlawan — he writes in Cebuano very beautifully whether in poems or short stories but I don't envy him. I like him. I know I can't do what he's doing. I just remain myself and,

strangely enough, he wants to write in English! I accept that I was born at the time when to write was to write in English, and if I was younger and started in the 70s, maybe I'd be writing everything in Cebuano. But I am who I am.

Timothy Mo: One practical consideration is that English gives you a huge world audience. Right? How many Cebuano-speakers are there? Twenty million? I mean it's a small market for Danish writers, too.

Resil Mojares: That's entirely illusory, Tim! Yes, for Philippine writers, being published in the US used to be the mark of success. They thought they were speaking to the world. But how many copies did they sell? Who are the biggest-selling Asian writers? It's the novelists writing in their own language! It's the Japanese novelists writing in Nipponggo who are then translated into English! Look at Nick Joaquin — he's writing in English and he's got nowhere near the renown abroad he should have!

Timothy Mo: That's an excellent point, Resil. There's an English expression — hoary chestnut. And I think that's what I repeated without thinking. You're absolutely correct. I mean apart from Mishima, the Indonesians like Mochtar Lubis and Pramoedya are all writing in Bahasa and not English. They're known through translation. But actually, I must be frank: I don't share the universal reverence for Nick Joaquin — he overwrites very amateurishly for me, but then I don't think much of Rizal either. And like that eye doctor in exile in Mindanao, I used to feel buried alive in Cebu for all the wonderful personal experiences and the rich material it gave me as novelist, but I no longer feel it. With CNN and BBC, we get the news even quicker than they do in New York or London — we're eight hours ahead, twelve hours. And e-mail and the Internet: that's made the world so much easier for me.

Simeon Dumdum: Not so much e-mail, Tim. Texting on the phone. The kids text abroad at 10 pesos a message. The boundaries of country have disappeared for them.

Resil Mojares: There was a time in the universities when there was a subject called 'Speech'. We listened to recordings of Americans in a laboratory and tried to sound like them. I don't think they have that now, it would be anachronistic. And Jun Cañizares. You know him, di ba, Jun? When he speaks in public, he does it with a pronounced Visayan accent. If he had done it in the 50s it would have been thought laughable but today someone who speaks English with an American accent would be an object of ridicule. I do know people who speak Visayanized English as a mark of awareness. It shows what a distance has been traveled.

Timothy Mo: Well, if we can say the US is the Roman Empire of our day, English is the Latin. And, as has been pointed out, when the political sway of Rome ended, the territories fragmented and so did the languages: Latin became the modern Romance languages of French, Italian, and Spanish. Perhaps Taglish or Singaporean English will become languages in their own right. Anyway, thanks, both of you.

# Part IV Resources

# 19

# Bibliographical resources for researching English in the Philippines

Ma. Lourdes S. Bautista

It is a commonplace observation that the Philippines is an ideal laboratory for studying sociolinguistics, the nexus between society and language, because it is a country where some 100 languages are spoken; where inhabitants are typically multilingual — speaking their native vernacular, a regional *lingua franca*, the national language Filipino, and the international language English; where the colonial language English was adopted as a second language within just a few generations; where switching between local languages or between a local language and English in ordinary conversations is almost routine. As expected, the bibliographical resources for the study of the sociolinguistics of English in the Philippines are extensive, providing details on the context in which English is acquired and nativized and the actual variety of English that has developed.

The bibliography below is organized according to the following headings: 'Sociology of language and language planning'; 'Bilingualism, bilingual education, and languages in education'; 'Language attitudes'; 'Code-switching and code-mixing'; 'Philippine English as a "New English"', and 'Creative writing in English'. Two non-topical sections — 'Edited collections and journal special issues', at the beginning, and 'Bibliographies', at the end — round out the headings. English language teaching and learning has been excluded here because these call for a voluminous bibliography of their own. Likewise excluded from this bibliography are the numerous publications on Philippine indigenous languages if these languages are studied in and of themselves and not in relation to English. However, bibliographies on Philippine languages have been included in the last section. Books and articles within the coverage of this bibliography but written in Filipino or other Philippine languages have been excluded because of space considerations. Numerous articles on the topics covered in this bibliography have appeared on the Internet, but practical considerations of economy and selection preclude their inclusion here.

I have prepared this bibliography by drawing on my personal knowledge of the literature, by using the MLA and the LLBA bibliographies, by consulting major university libraries in the Philippines and abroad via the Internet, and by talking to experts in the field. In all the sections except for 'Philippine Creative Writing in English', I made the decision to include as much of the literature as was known or as was made known to me, whether foreign readers would have easy access to these materials or not, in the hope that these readers might be able to get hold of the materials by asking Filipino friends for assistance or by visiting the Philippines. In the case of the Creative Writing section, because of the very great number of literary works in English by Filipino writers, I followed the advice of a consultant to simply include the best (or most representative) collection for each genre plus other major anthologies widely available in Philippine bookstores.

The bibliography is of necessity uneven in terms of coverage and quality of the entries; regarding the latter, I should state that I have not seen, much less read, several of the entries. But it is my hope that it does not contain too many glaring omissions, and here I would like to apologize to those whose works I might have inadvertently overlooked. I would like to thank Prof. Kingsley Bolton of Stockholm University for making the MLA and LLBA bibliographies available to me, Dr. Isagani Cruz of De La Salle University for assisting me with the Creative Writing section of the bibliography, and Ms. Perla Garcia of the De La Salle University Library for helping me locate materials in major Philippine libraries using the Internet.

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Abad, Antonio 358 Abad, Gémino H. 7, 77, 263, 269-70, 272, 279-98, 308, 359 Abad-Jugo, Cyan, see Jugo, Cyan Abad abrogation 267-71 Achebe, Chinua 97, 264 acrolect 20, 159-66, 168-70, 172-4, 231-2; see also basilect; edulect; lects; mesolect Adlawan, Tem 365 Adler, Martha A. 319 Adolphs, Svenja 219 Agcaoili, T. D. 304-5 Agoncillo, Teodoro A. 108, 110, 124 Aguila, Cesar 310 Aguilar, Jose V. 30 Agustin, Jim Pascual 295, 347 Ahmad, Aijah 68, 78 Ahmed, Zubair 225 Alberca, Wilfredo L. 14, 19, 58, 158, 169, 201 Alberto, P. L. 267 Alcantara, Gene 347 Alegre, Edilberto N. 255 Alias, Denise Chou 123 Alip, Eufronio M. 257 Almario, Virgilio 123 Alumit, Noel 345-6 Alvarez, Ivy 347 Alzona, Encarnacion 318 Amansec, Lilia Pablo 305, 307 America 24, 131, 146, 148, 177, 248, 282, 284, 293, 302, 321, 323, 325-6, 329, 342, 346, 348; see also United States Anderson, Benedict 7-8, 76, 115, 123,

322, 324

Angeles, Carlos A. 286-7, 294, 342 Anvil-Macquarie Dictionary 58, 184-7; see also dictionaries Apeles, Teena 350 Apostol, Gina 310, 349 appropriation 271-6 Aquino, Belinda A. 346 Aquino, Benigno 'Ninoy' 111, 308 Aguino, Cesar Ruiz 295, 305 Aquino, Corazon C. 3, 5, 22, 115, 308 Aguino, Cory, see Aguino, Corazon C. Aquino, Milagros R. 58 Arañas, Patria Garcia 201 Arcellana, Francisco 293, 299, 302-5, 313, 342 Arcellana, Juaniyo 295 Arguilla, Manuel E. 95, 293, 295, 303, 313 Ashcroft, Bill 67-9, 261-2, 267-8, 271 Asian Englishes 21, 24, 61, 67–86, 157, 180, 183, 204, 217, 220, 225, 234 Ateneo de Manila University 307, 309, 321; see also universities Aureus, Carlos 308 Australian English 176, 178 Austronesian languages 2, 18, 131-56, 222 authors, see Philippine English literature: Cebuano writers Ayala, Jose V. 305 Azurin, Arnold Molina 96-7 Bacho, Peter 349

Baguingan, Gloria D. 36

Bailey, Richard 264

Bain, Peter 220, 228

bakla 120-2 bakya 105-10, 302, 311 Baldauf, Richard B. 189 Bankoff, Greg 4 Banzon, Isabela, see Mooney, Isabela Banzon Barot, Rick 350 basilect 20, 158-70, 172-4, 232; see also acrolect; edulect; lects; mesolect Batacan, Felisa H. 347 Bauer, Laurie 176 Bautista, Cirilo F. 18, 24, 285-6 Bautista, Ma. Lourdes S. 1-9, 19-21, 34, 41, 55-6, 58, 70, 74, 77, 93, 96, 158-9, 183-4, 187, 190, 201-18, 220, 222, 225-6, 234, 266-8, 273, 330, 371-94 Benitez, Paz Marquez 95, 247, 255, 303 Benjamin, Walter 318 BEP, see Bilingual Education Policy Bernad, Miguel A. 96, 246-7, 279-81, 290-1, 329 Bernal, Ishmael 311 Bernardo, Allan B. I. 4, 7, 29-48, 74-6 Berns, Margie 68 Beyer, H. Otley 182 Bhabha, Homi K. 68 Biala, Arlene 350 bibliographical resources 371-94 Bicol, see Bikol Bicolano, see Bikol Bikol 131-56, 180, 338 bilingual education 17, 31-2, 307, 319, 370-82, 376-82; see also Bilingual Education Policy of 1974 Bilingual Education Policy (BEP) of 1974, the 32, 40, 42, 74, 90–1, 107, 159, 330; see also bilingual education bilingualism 20, 39, 291, 376-82; see also multilingualism Bismonte, Marie 345 Black, Jan Knippers 69, 72 Blair, Emma Helen 182, 318 Blake, Frank R. 188-9 Blanco, Marivi Soliven 308, 350 Bloomaert, Jan 81 Bloomfield, Leonard 154 Bobis, Merlinda 295, 310, 347 Bolton, Kingsley 1-9, 55, 57-8, 67-9, 80, 159, 175–200, 220, 225

BPO; see Business Processing Outsourcing operations Brainard, Cecilia Manguera, see Manguera-Brainard, Cecilia Brathwaite, Edward Kamau 261, 267-8 Bresnahan, Roger J. 320 Brew, Frances P. 235 Brillantes, Gregorio 304, 306 Brion, Rofel G. 324 Brocka, Lino 311 Brooks, Cleanth 285 Brown, Penelope 60 Brutt-Griffler, J. 157 Bulosan, Carlos 16, 284, 287, 300, 304, 310, 321, 328, 340-1, 349 Bunao, G. Burce 305 Business Processing Outsourcing (BPO) operations 5, 219-42 Butler, Susan 7, 57-8, 175-200, 220 Cabalquinto, Luis 295, 344 Cabico, Reggie 345 cacique democracy 115 Cairns, David R. 235-6 Calalang, Casiano 254-5 call centers: industry 5, 23, 76, 219-42; communication 228-30; communication problems 230-1; discourse and strategic competence 235-7; language accuracy 234-5; phonological aspects 231-3 Calleja, Marissa O. 36, 43 Calucag, Ernesto B. 23 Cameron, Deborah 219-20 Campomanes, Oscar V. 95, 314 Canagarajah, Suresh 67, 78 Canale, Michael 230 Canieso-Doronila, Maria Luisa 74 Cannell, Fenella 125 Carbo, Nick 339, 344-5 Cariño, Maria Luisa A., see Igloria, Luisa Carnoy, Martin 38 Carunungan, Celso Al 321 Casambre, Nelia G. 158, 201, 208 Casanova, Pascale 330 Casper, Leonard 285, 294, 305-6, 313, 331, 343-4 Casper, Linda Ty 306, 308, 321, 328, 343, 346

Castillo, Erwin 305, 307, 364 Cebu 107 Cebuano writers 357-68 Cebuano, Cebuanos 2, 8, 21, 63, 131-56, 163, 188, 222, 247, 319, 338-9, 343, 362 census 4, 14, 21, 319 Cerenio, Virginia 346, 349–50 Chai, Arlene J. 310, 321, 347 Chang, Chih-Mei 43-4 Cheah, Pheng 322 Chu, Yiu Wai 68 Churchill, Bernardita 14 cinema, see Philippine cinema (film) class, see social class code-mixing 40, 93, 144-5, 383-5 code-switching 20-2, 40-1, 50, 52, 55, 59, 101-28, 144-5, 151, 215-16, 220, 265-6, 268, 271–2, 319, 329, 383–5 Collins COBUILD Dictionary 204, 210-11, 213; see also dictionaries colonial education 245-60 colonial literary canon 247-55 colonial period 13-16 colonialism 13-16, 23, 33-5, 67-86, 87-100, 106, 177, 245-78, 280, 299, 318, 339-40, 348, 365; see also Spanish colonialism communists 326, 328, 332 competence, see English language competence Constantino, Ernesto A. 154 Constantino, Renato 31, 33-4, 76, 247, 306 corpus linguistics 201-18 Cortes, Carlos 308 Coulmas, Florian 89-90, 188 Croghan, Richard 307 Cruz, Andres Cristobal 305 Cruz, Isagani R. 16, 18-19, 97, 124, 183, 190, 331, 372 Cu, Ernest L. 223 Culler, Jonathan 317, 322 culture 261-78, 322-3, 360 da Costa, Rafael Zulueta, see Zulueta da Costa, Rafael Dalisay, Jose Y., Jr. 97, 308, 311, 313-4, 326

Dato, Luis G. 283-4, 293

Dato, Rodolfo 282, 293

Davis, Rocio G. 342-3, 347 Dayag, Danilo T. 7, 22, 49-66 Dayrit, Joy 308 Daza, Julie Y. 123 de Guzman, Estefania S. 36 de Iesus-Chua, Noelle O. 347 de la Paz, Oliver 345-6 De La Salle University 294, 309, 321; see also universities de los Santos, Marisa 346 de Ocampo, Nick 116 de Ungria, Ricardo M. 295 Dei, George J. Sefa 67 Dekker, P. Gregory 36 del Mundo, Clodualdo, Jr.124 Delbridge, Arthur 21 Demetillo, Ricaredo 294, 342 diaspora, see Filipino diaspora dictionaries, see Anvil-Macquarie Dictionary; Collins COBUILD Dictionary, Merriam-Webster's Dictionary, Webster's Dictionary Dimalanta, Ophelia A. 18, 295, 340, 342 Dirks, Nicholas B. 81 Dirlik, Arif 68-9, 78 Dissanayake, Wimal 68 Dizon, D. Paulo 304 Dominguez, Carol 224, 227 Doronila, Amando 34 Dumdum, Simeon 7, 291, 295, 357-68 Dyen, Isidore 154 Eagleton, Terry 322 economy 3 EDSA revolt, the 115, 116, 122, 328 education 22, 29-48, 77, see also languages in education edulect 20-1; see also acrolect; basilect; lects; mesolect Eggins, Suzanne 230 English and indigenous languages 143-4 English as a medium of instruction 279 English language competence 224 English language media 49-66; see also language and the media Enriquez, Antonio Reyes 265-6, 307-8,

313, 328

Enriquez, Emigdio Alvarez 320

David, Joel 125

Enriquez, Virgilio G. 33, 35 Errington, Ellen 36 Escober, E.R. 350 Espina, Lina 304 Espiritu, Clemencia C. 36 Estioko, Leonardo 246 Estrada, Bayardo E. 287 Estrada, Joseph 'Erap' 3, 22, 57, 124–5 Evans, Glenn H. 179, 190 Evasco, Marjorie 18, 287, 295

Faigao-Hall, Linda 344-5 Fanon, Frantz 69, 71, 300 Feak, Christine B. 204 Fee, Mary Helen 251 Feria, Dolores Stephens 300 Fernandez, Doreen G. 255 Fernando, Gilda Cordero 304-5 Fernando, Lloyd 264 Ferrer, Jamie 224 fiction, see Philippine English literature: fiction Filipinisms 18, 201, 268, 274 Filipino (language) 4, 6, 16, 20-2, 40, 88-91, 107, 262, 338-9, 343 Filipino (people) 2-8, 104, 114, 247, 322, Filipino diaspora 1, 8, 310, 321, 332, 337-

Filipino-American War, see Philippine-American War
Filipino-English code-switching 41
film, see Philippine cinema (film)
Florentino, Alberto S. 337
Flores, Nona C. 350
Fojas, Felix 346
Forey, Gail 7, 219–42
Francia, Luis H. 94–5, 295, 344–5
Freer, William B. 179–80, 190
Frei, Ernest J. 188–9
Freire, Paulo 250
Friedman, Jonathan 72, 78, 81
Fuson, Karen C. 43

Galang, M. Evelina 310, 343, 346 Galang, Zoilo M. 95, 321, 323 Galdon, Joseph 306, 313 Gallman, Andrew F. 154 Gamalinda, Eric T. 295, 310, 320, 327, 344, 349 Gambito, Sarah 345 Garcellano, Rosario 307 Garcia, Neil C. 125, 295 Garcia, Rodney Dakita 346 Gentleman, Amelia 225 Genuino, Cecilia 60 Gledhill, John 69 globalization 7, 34, 37-9, 44, 68-72, 76-7, 79, 226, 237-8, 291, 309, 311, 329 Gloria, Eugene 295, 346 Go, Stella P. 77 Golay, Frank Hindman 318 Gonzales, Sydney D. 60 Gonzalez, Andrew B., FSC 4, 7, 13-27, 32, 34-5, 58-9, 74-5, 77, 90-1, 94, 99, 107, 123-4, 143, 154, 158-9, 169-70, 177, 189, 201-2, 204, 216, 220, 225, 266, 319-20, 330-1 Gonzalez, N. V. M. 16, 95, 99, 293, 299-301, 303-6, 312-3, 320-1, 323, 326, 342-3, 360, 363-4 Gonzalez, Romina 308 Gonzalves, Theodore S. 346 Goss, Jasper 78 Gotera, Vince 346 Graff, Gerald 248 Greenbaum, Sidney 80 Greenleaf, Robert 224 Greenlees, Donald 5 Grefalda, Reme-Antonia 346 Griffiths, Gareth 261 Grimes, Barbara F. 154 Grosiean, François 40 Groyon, Vicente III 309 Gruenberg, Estrellita V. 320 Guerrero, Amadis Ma. 307 Guerrero, Leon Ma. 331 Guerrero, Milagros C. 108 Guerrero, Rafael Maria 123-4 Guha, Ranajit 69 Gumbel, Peter 72, 81

Hagedorn, Jessica 7, 20, 24, 101–2, 104, 113, 117, 123, 310, 321, 328, 343–4 Hakuta, Kenji 39–40

Gustilo, Leah E. 60

Halleck, Reuben P. 249 Halliday, Michael 230 Hansen, Miriam 123 Hau, Caroline S. 7, 74, 123, 317-36 Headland, Janet D. 154 Headland, Thomas N. 154 Heller, Monica 81 Hernandez, Jose M. 256-7 Hidalgo, Antonio 308 Hidalgo, Cesar A. 88-9, 99, 188 Hidalgo, Cristina P. 299-316, 321 Hiligaynon 30, 131-56, 188, 283, 319, 338 Holborow, Marnie 73, 78 Hollander, John 291 Holliday, Adrian 78 Holthe, Tess Uriza 345-6 Hong Kong English 177, 201-2, 208, 216-17 Hood, Susan 237 Hufana, Alejandrino G. 287-8, 291, 295 Huggan, Graham 329 Huk rebellion, the 328 Hutton, Christopher 67, 80 hybridity 348 Hymes, Dell 78

ICE, see International Corpus of English identity 2, 15, 24, 33, 63, 74, 90, 104-9, 115, 117, 119-20, 122-3, 159, 225, 261-5, 306-7, 324 Igloria, Luisa 295, 346 Igorrote 180 ikabod 110-15 Ilio, Dominador 270, 294 Ilocano, see Ilokano Iloilo 107 Ilokano, Ilokanos 2, 131-56, 338 ilustrados 8, 103, 123-4, 186, 301, 312, 318, 332, 339, 358 imperialism 365 India 71, 78, 212, 216, 225-6, 264, 363-5 indigenous languages 1-2, 23, 88-91, 99-100, 131, 157, 187-8, 247, 289, 371; see also English and indigenous languages Infante, J. Eddie 124 Institute of National Language, see Surian ng Wikang Pambansa International Corpus of English (ICE) 201-18

Irving, Washington 248, 250, 252 Ishiguro, Kazuo 340

Jambalos, Thelma V. 201–2 Jannedy, Stephanie 162 Japanese (language) 16, 107, 363 Japanese (people) 304, 348, 365-6 Javellana, Stevan 304, 321, 325 Iavier, Paolo 345 Jinkinson, Beth 3 Joaquin, Nick 7, 24, 95, 123, 269-70, 281, 285-7, 291, 303-4, 306, 313, 320, 326-7, 359, 363, 366 jolography 275-6 Joos, Martin 19-20, 216 Jose, F. Sionil 7, 18, 24, 304-6, 308, 320-1, 326-8 Jugo, Cyan Abad 308 Jurich, Sonia 38

Kachru, Braj 67–70, 73–4, 78, 80, 220, 225, 262, 266
Kalaw, Maximo M. 95, 323
Kandiah, Thiru 77–8
Kapampangan 131–56
Kaplan, Robert B. 189–90
Katigbak, Luis 308
Kimura, Masataka 325
Kramer, Paul A. 192
Kroeber, Alfred L. 182
Kubota, Ryuko 235
Kuipers, Joel C. 188
Kwon, Youngshim 43

Lacaba, Jose F. 109–10, 112, 306
Lacaba, Kris 275
Lacuesta, Angelo 308
Lacuesta, Lolita R. 124
language and the media: 49–66; television
49–51; vocabulary 55–8; see also
English language media
language attitudes 382–3
language planning 5, 374–6
language policies 5–7, 29–48, 87–100,
374–6
language rights 6
language surveys 5, 30, 159, 247, 249–51
language training 221–3

languages in education: 29-48, 376-82; English 14, 29-48, 74-8 languages of instruction, see medium of instruction Lara, Susan 308 Laslo, Pablo 293 Laurel, R. Kwan 332 Laurilla, Mildred Rojo 61 Lauter, Paul 248 Laya, Juan C. 320, 325, 363 lects 20-1; see also acrolect; basilect; edulect: mesolect Legaspi, Joseph O. 345 Lehner, Al 235 Levinson, Stephen 60 lexicon of Philippine English, see Philippine English: lexicon Lim, Jaime An 295, 308, Lim, Paulino, Jr. 24, 346 Lim, Shirley Geok-Lin 329 Lim-Wilson, Fatima 295, 345-6 Lin, Angel M. Y. 77 linguistic imperialism 67, 91–4, 267 Linmark, R. Zamora 349 literature, see Philippine English literature Litiatco, Alfredo 16, 293 Llamzon, Teodoro A. 19-21, 58, 96, 158-9, 168-9, 201, 220, 231, 266 Lloyd, David 322 Lo Bianco, Joseph 40 Lockwood, Jane 7, 219-42 Longfellow, Henry Wadsworth 245-6. 248-50, 253 Lopez, Cecilio 134 Lopez, Salvador P. 15, 284, 293, 295, 303, 305, 313, 324, 329 Lowenberg, Peter H. 68, 211 Lukacs, Georg 326 Lumbera, Bienvenido 246-7, 269, 295, 300-1, 312 Lumbera, Cynthia Nograles 246-7, 269, 300-1, 312 lyric poetry 254 Mabanglo, Elynia Ruth 346 Mabini, Apolinario 13 Macapagal-Arroyo, Gloria 3, 22, 224, 338

Macedo, Donaldo 250

Macken-Horarik, Mary 230 Macquarie Dictionary 184-7 Madrid, Renato 307-8, 313 Madrunio, Marilu R. 61 magazines 54-5, 311 Magindanao 132 Majul, Cesar Adib 13 Manalang-Gloria, Angela C. 264-5, 283-4 Manalansan, Martin 125, 350 Manalo, Paolo 274-5, 295 Manarpaac, D. V. S. 7, 87–100 Manguera-Brainard, Cecilia 310, 343, 345 - 6Maniquiz, Mike 350 Manlapaz, Edna Z. 287, 292-3 Maranan, Edgardo B. 295, 347 Maranao 132, 140 Marcelo, Nonoy 111-4 Marcos Regime, the, see Marcos, Ferdinand Marcos, Ferdinand 3, 5, 88-9, 96-7, 107, 110-1, 114-5, 125, 306-8, 325-6, 328, 331, 338, 344, 348 Markus, Gyorgy 322 Marquardt, Frederic S. 179 Martin, Dalmacio 246 Martin, Isabel P. 7, 29, 245-60 Martin, James 230, 237 Martinez, David C. 350 Martinez, Norma D. 158 mass media 49-66, 107; linguistic research 58-63; see also English language media; language and the media; magazines; newspapers; Philippine cinema; radio; television Matthiessen, Christian 230 Mazrui, Alamin M. 78–9 Mazrui, Ali 263 McArthur, Tom 80 McDermott, Ray 188 McFarland, Curtis D. 2, 7, 131–56, 190 McFerson, Hazel M. 2, 192 McKinley, William 29, 318 McKinnon, William D. 13, 246 McPhate, Mike 225 Medalla, David Cortes 347 media in English, see English language media media, see mass media

Medina, Loreta M. 347 medium of instruction 29-48, 88, 318, 361; see also English as a medium of instruction Melendrez-Cruz, Patricia 35 Melvin, Reine Arcache 310, 347 memorization 17, 250-1 Mencken, H. L. 176 Mendoza, Diana 3 Merriam-Webster's Dictionary 187, 190; see also dictionaries mesolect 20, 158-70, 172-4, 231-2; see also acrolect; basilect; edulect; lects mestizos/as 2, 103-5, 111, 113, 117, 123 Miller, Kevin F. 43 Millward, C. M. 153-4 mimicry 253-6 Minahal, Maiana 350 Miraflor, Norma 305, 310, 347 Miura, Irene T. 43 Mo, Timothy 7, 340, 357-68 Mojares, Resil 7, 300-2, 307, 319, 328-9, 331, 357-68 Monroe, Paul 13-14, 30, 35, 247, 251 Mooney, Isabela Banzon 264-6, 273-4 Moro 180 mother tongue 6, 31-6, 157, 217, 221-2, 268, 357 Mulholland, Kate 220, 228 multilingualism 7, 20-1, 23, 40, 44, 317, 371; see also bilingualism Murray, Sabina 349 Naipaul, V. S. 360 Nation, James 268 national language 4, 89-91; see also Wikang Pambansa National Language Law (1936) 16 nationalism 5, 21, 31, 74, 87-100, 106, 108, 190, 261-78, 322-6 native languages 8, 30, 40-1, 88, 131-58, 168-9, 231, 245-7, 257-8, 267-70, 283, 291, 302, 322, 339-40 Navarro, Rene J. 347 Nayyar, Deepak 72

Nepomuceno, Joseph 345

new Englishes 157, 176-8, 190, 216, 266,

Nero, Shondel J. 157

371

New Zealand English 176 New, W. H. 261 Newell, Leonard E. 189 newspapers 22, 53-4, 59-63, 312 Nezhukumatathil, Aimee 345 Ngugi wa Thiong'o 261 Nielo, Alberto M. 294 Nkrumah, Kwame 71 Nolledo, Wilfrido D. 305-6, 329, 342 novel, see Philippine English literature: novel Ocampo, Ambeth 124 Okamoto, Yukari 44 Olega, Jesus C. 293-4 Ondaatje, Michael 340 Ong, Charlson 308, 320-1, 327, 332 Ong, Han 349 Ordoñez, Elmer A. 33, 226 Ordoñez, Victor 346 Orsini, Francesca 330 Osmubal, Papa 347 Overseas Filipino Workers (OFWs) 37–8 Palanca, Clinton 308 Pallesen, A. Kemp 154 Pangasinan 131-56 Parakrama, Aljuna 73, 78 Pascasio, Emv M. 34 Pascual, Wilfredo O., Jr. 347 Patalinjug, Ricardo 307 Paterno, Ma. Elena 265-6, 308 Paterno, Pedro 332 Peñaranda, Oscar 345-6, 349 Peña-Reyes, Myrna 295, 346 Pennycook, Alastair 39, 67, 69, 73, 78, 80 pensionados 15, 76, 292, 339 Perez, Gilbert S. 179 Philippine cinema (film) 115–22 Philippine Commonwealth, the 16 Philippine English language: 13, 18, 220; borrowings 179-80; competence 22-3; consonants 162-3, 172; decline of English 30-1; features 385-91; grammar 18-19, 201-18; history 13-27; intonation 166-7; lexicography 175-200; lexicon 18-19; linguistic features 129-241; morphology and syntax 201–18; phonology 18–19, 157–74; proficiency 37–8, 219, 224; segmental phonology 161–4, 168–9; social stratification 6; sociolinguistics 11–127; standard of English 224–6; stress 164–6, 174; suprasegmental phonology 164–7, 169–70; vocabulary 175–200; vocabulary in the media 55–8; vowels 163–4, 173; see also English language media; language and the media

Philippine English literature: 7, 14–15, 18, 94–6, 243–367, 391–3; Cebuano writers 357–68; colonial period 245–60; diasporic literature 337–56; fiction 317–36; history 300–10; history of poetry 279–98; novel 317–36; poetry 279–98; short story 299–316

Philippine languages: 131–56; borrowed phrases from English 150–2; borrowed words with Tagalog affixes 148–50; borrowing from English 145–8; borrowing from Philippine languages 179–80; groupings 140–2; language change 138–9; phonology 133–4; syntax 134–8; see also indigenous languages

Philippine-American War 3-4, 13, 191, 301, 328

Philippines: ethnic groups 2; geography 2; literature 245–60; sociolinguistics 11–127; see also Philippine languages Phillipson, Robert 39–40, 67, 80, 91–5 pidgin 20

Pilipino 4, 21, 32, 81, 88, 89, 107, 143, 144, 181, 189, 258, 295, 329, 332

Pineda, Jon 345

Pineda, P. B. 40–1

Platt, John 268

Poe, Edgar Allan 252

poetry, see Philippine English literature: poetry

Polotan, Kerima 304, 306–7, 320, 327 postcolonialism 67–86, 87–100, 261–78, 322

Prah, Kwesi K. 71, 81 Prator, Clifford H. 17, 29, 31, 166 Price, Helen 7, 219–42 private schools 20 Protacio-Marcelino, Elizabeth 33, 35 Puatu, Mar V. 310, 346 public schools 20 Purser, John T. 285

Quezon, Manuel L. 88, 103, 189, 295, 329 Quijano de Manila 123 Quimpo, Nathan G. 2 Quirk, Randolph 57, 80, 209

radio 22, 51-2 Rafael, Vicente L. 7, 101-28, 345-6, 361, 363 Rajagopalan, Kanavillil 78 Ramanathan, Vaidehi 71, 77-8 Ramos, Fidel V. 3, 22, 115, 320 Ramos, Geoffrey P. 223 Ramos, Maximino 30, 36 reading materials 17, 322 Realuyo, Bino A. 310, 321, 343-5 Recto, Claro M. 358 Reich, Robert B. 38 Reid, Lawrence A. 154 Remoto, Danton 125, 295 Reyes, Barbara J. Pulmano 350 Reves, Emmanuel 120, 124 Reyes, Melissa Lopez 36, 43 Reyes, Myrna Peña, see Peña-Reyes, Myrna Reves, Soledad S. 319 Reyes, Virgil 347 Rivera, Aida R. 304, 308 Rividad, Emma 327 Rizal, Jose 7, 8, 13, 103, 123, 199, 290, 301-2, 312, 318, 324-5, 331-2, 339, 358, 366 Robertson, James A. 182, 318 Robinson, Jay 115, 264 Rodas, Jovita Zimmerman, see Zimmerman Rodas, Jovita Rodriguez, Gloria F. 321 Roley, Brian Ascalon 310, 349 Romero, Ma. Corona S. 201 Rosal, Patrick 345 Rosca, Ninotchka 20, 24, 306-7, 310, 313, 321, 328, 343-4 Rose, David 230 Rose, Ed 220 Ross, Bruce Clunies 329

rote learning 17, 250-1

Rotor, Arturo 16, 255, 284, 303

Ruiz, Rochita C. 347 Rushdie, Salman 309, 340

Sabado, Joseph 345 Saguisag, Lara 308 Said, Edward 67 Salamanca, Bonifacio 30 Salanga, Alfrredo Navarro 288-9 Saleeby, Najeeb Mitry 30, 35 Salmi, Jamil 38 Samar-Leyte 132 Samson, Antonio 326 San Juan, Epifanio, Jr. 33, 71, 78, 295 Sanchez, Wilfredo Pascua 305, 350, 364 Santos, Bienvenido N. 16, 285, 286-7, 303, 306, 309-10, 321, 326-7, 342-3, 349 Santos-Taylor, Marcelline 350 Sarmiento, Menchu 308 Sarreal, Nadine 310, 347 Sartre, Jean-Paul 71, 306 Schneider, Edgar W. 204 Schumacher, John N. 318 Schwab, Irene 78 Segovia, Lorna Z. 330 Selden, Raman 258 Sering, Tara F. T. 309, 314 Sernau, Scott 69, 71, 72 Shakespeare, William 246, 248, 250, 253, 329 Shannon, George Pope 253-4 Shaw, Angel 344-5 Shohat, Ella 69, 78 short fiction, see Philippine English literature: short story Short Message Service (SMS) 338-66 short story, see Philippine English literature: short story Sibayan, Bonifacio P. 17, 30, 32, 34-5, 40, 74-7, 88, 94, 266, 330 Silbey, David J. 191 Siliman University 309, 321; see also universities Sitoy, Lakambini 308

Sivaramakrishnan, K. 69

Slade, Diane 230

Skinner, Michelle Cruz 310, 343, 346, 350

Skutnabb-Kangas, Tove 39-40, 79

SMS, see Short Message Service

Snyder, Edward D. 249 Snyder, Franklyn B. 249 social class 3, 5, 8, 53, 72-4, 76-9, 81, 97-8, 106, 108, 113-6, 119, 122, 124-5, 143, 178, 216, 270, 291, 317, 325-8, 329-30, 338 sociolinguistics 13-127 sociology of language 374-6 Soliongco, I. P. 248 Spain 104, 106, 301, 348 Spanish (language) 87, 89, 105-9, 111-2, 148, 179-80, 246, 283, 358-60, 362 Spanish (people) 2, 89, 365 Spanish colonialism 178 Spanish-American War 3, 87 spoken English 14 Sta. Ana, Alan 158 Standard American English 225 standard English 264-71 standardization 20-1 Stapleton, Lara 343, 345 Starnes, Sofia M. 346 Stickmon, Janet 350 Stigler, James W. 43 Stiglitz, Joseph E. 69 Strobel, Leny Mendoza 345-6 Subido, Abelardo 293 Sullivan, Louis R. 182 Surian ng Wikang Pambansa (Institute of National Language) 40 Svalberg, Agneta M. L. 234 Swain, Merrill 230

Tabios, Eileen 345
Tabor, Myrna G.A. 183
Tadiar, Neferti Xina 326
Tagalog 2, 16, 21, 88–9, 98, 105–9, 111–2, 118, 131–56, 180, 215, 300–1, 338–9, 343, 363
Taglish 1, 50, 52, 55, 101–28, 144–5, 319, 329, 338, 367
Tahimik, Kidlat 116
Talib, Ismail 267, 270, 275
Tarrosa-Subido, Trinidad L. 283–4, 293
Tayao, Ma. Lourdes G. 7, 19, 58, 157–74, 220, 231–3

Swales, John M. 204

systemic functional linguistics 230

Taylor, Philip 220, 228 teaching of literature 245-60 television 22, 49-51 Teodoro, Luis V. 307 Terra, Perfecto, Jr. 347 texting, see SMS (Short Message Service) Tharp, James A. 154 Thomas, Paul 322 Thomasites, the 4, 14, 177, 179 Thompson, Roger M. 319, 329 Thornton, William H. 72 Thumboo, Edwin May 264, 266, 272 Tiempo, Edilberto K. 304, 306, 332, 342 Tiempo, Edith L. 97, 285-7, 290, 294, 304, 309, 320, 342 Tiempo-Torrevillas, Rowena, see Torrevillas, Rowena Tiempo

Tinio, Rolando S. 6, 268–9
Tinio, Victoria L. 74
Tollefson, James W. 5–6, 35, 74–5
Tope, Lily Rose 7, 261–78
Torres, Emmanuel 288, 290–1, 295, 310–1
Torrevillas, Rowena Tiempo 295, 307, 310, 346

310, 346 Tupas, T. Ruanni F. 7, 35, 67–86, 220, 225–6 Turner, George W. 176 Ty-Casper, Linda, *see* Casper, Linda Ty

# UNESCO 38, 246

Tiffin, Helen 261

United States 13–16, 23, 29, 74, 245–60, 321, 326, 337; see also America universities, see Ateneo de Manila University; De La Salle University; Siliman University; University of Santo Tomas; University of the Philippines University of Santo Tomas 257, 309, 321, 340; see also universities

University of the Philippines 13–14, 189, 253–4, 256, 279, 299, 301–2, 309, 321, 341, 358; see also universities

UP, the, see University of the Philippines

Valeros, Florentino B. 320 Valle, Charles 345 varieties of English 224–6, 263–6

Uranza, Azucena Grajo 270, 320, 328

Vaux, James Hardy 178 Vega, Joel H. 347 Ventura, Rey 347 Vilches, Ma. Luz 41 Villa, Jose Garcia 15-16, 95, 256, 281, 283-7, 289, 293-4, 300, 302-3, 305-7, 310, 313, 341-3, 349, 363 Villacorta, Wilfrido V. 90-1 Villanueva, Marianne 310, 345-6 Villareal, Corazon D. 79, 268 Villena, Rosemarievic G. 36 Viray, Francisco 16 Viray, Manuel A. 293, 295, 304, 342 Virtusio, Genaro 256 Visayan English 366 Visayans, see Cebuanos

Wagemakers, Ella Sanchez 347
Wagner, Daniel A. 81
Walcott, Derek 263, 268
Walton, Charles 154
Warren, Robert P. 285
Webster, Noah 253
Webster's Dictionary 57–8, 175, 181–2, 190–1, 195; see also dictionaries
Wee, Lionel 81
Weisser, Edna 347
White, Peter 230, 237
Wickberg, Edgar 123
Wikang Pambansa (national language) 4, 16, 107
Williams, Raymond 324

Williams, Raymond 324
Witt, L. Alan 220
Worcester, Dean C. 182
world Englishes 67–86, 176
Wright, Gillian 220
writers, see Philippine English literature:
Cebuano writers
written English 14, 19

Yabes, Leopoldo Y. 302–4, 313 Yap, Fe Aldave 181–2 Yeo, Robert 263 Young, Robert J. C. 68–71 Yuson, Alfred A. 7, 289–90, 295, 307–8, 313, 320, 327, 337–56

Wurfel, David 33

Zabus, Chantal 268
Zafra, Jessica 308, 311
Zaide, Gregorio F. 279
Zimmerman Rodas, Jovita 346
Zorc, R. David Paul 154, 189
Zulueta da Costa, Rafael 16, 272, 284–5, 287, 294